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SEVENTY - THIRD  
ANNUAL REPORT  
  
OF THE  
  
HAWAIIAN  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
  
FOR THE YEAR  
1964

HONOLULU, HAWAII  
PUBLISHED, 1965

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## THE HAWAIIAN NAVY UNDER KING KALAKAUA\*

By JACOB ADLER†

On the last day but one of the year 1886 the British schooner *Explorer*, smelling of fertilizer, sailed into Honolulu Harbor. She was well known as a guano and copra trader. She was soon to become the most comic and pathetic one-ship navy to sail the Pacific.

Within a seven-month period the ship would make a single disastrous voyage of over 5,000 miles, suffer two mutinies, run afoul of the Pacific policies of three world powers, nearly cause Germany to declare war on Hawaii, contribute to the downfall of the Hawaiian government, and add greatly to the troubles of one of the Hawaiian king's brother monarchs in the Pacific.

And yet, in the busy port of Honolulu the *Explorer's* arrival caused no great stir. It would indeed have been hard to imagine that here was the start of a Hawaiian navy. But Walter Murray Gibson, King Kalakaua's premier, minister of foreign affairs, and secretary of war and of the (not yet existent) navy, was nothing if not imaginative. At a cabinet meeting on January 10, 1887, Gibson urged the king to buy the ship to further Hawaii's policy of "Primacy in the Pacific." At another cabinet meeting a week later, with the king himself presiding, a decision to buy the ship for \$20,000 was quickly made.<sup>1</sup>

Hawaiian King David Kalakaua (1874-1891), torn between his own culture and that of the Honolulu English-speaking community, dreamed of reviving the glories of Hawaii's past. Frustrated at home by the limits of a constitutional monarchy, his thoughts turned outward and he aspired to lead all the kindred peoples of Polynesia. As one step to that end he sought union with Samoa, some 2,600 miles to the southwest of Hawaii.

In 1886 the Kingdom of Samoa—including what is now Western Samoa and American Samoa—presented a scene of turmoil. King Malietoa sat on a precarious throne, threatened by wars among rival chieftains. Of these the strongest was Tamasese, who was supported by the Germans. What stability there was in Samoa could be found at the capital city of Apia, governed really by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. The kingdom itself was nominally independent.

Germany, the dominant commercial power in Samoa, aimed at political control of the whole country. Great Britain, from considerations of *Realpolitik*, did not feel she could oppose the German designs. The United States had treaty rights in a naval station at Pago Pago, Samoa; but U. S. Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard, idealistic and

\* A paper given before the Hawaiian Historical Society on October 29, 1964.

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anti-imperialistic, favored independence for Samoa under a three-power protectorate. Each of the three powers suspected annexationist plotting by the others.

Into the troubled Samoan waters the tiny Hawaiian Kingdom was getting ready to dip its paddle.

Hawaii's newly-appointed ambassador to Samoa, John E. Bush, left Honolulu on December 26, 1886, just a few days before the *Explorer* docked. Bush was a member of the Hawaiian House of Nobles, a former cabinet minister, and a close friend of Kalakaua. After arriving at Apia, Samoa, Bush on January 7 conveyed warm greetings from King Kalakaua to King Malietoa. He also awarded Malietoa the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Star of Oceania, an order specially created by Hawaii to honor the great kings and chiefs of Polynesia. (The insignia itself had unfortunately been delayed in the mail.) Malietoa responded with equal warmth, referring to ties of blood between Hawaii and Samoa.

In Honolulu meanwhile the government took possession of the *Explorer* and on January 21, 1887, ran up the Hawaiian colors. The ship, built of teak and oak had been launched in 1872 at Blyth, Scotland. Later her hull was sheathed with copper. She was 128 feet long, had a main breadth of 26 feet, and a depth of 11 feet. She was schooner-rigged with three masts, and had engines of 40 horse-power.<sup>2</sup> When steaming she could make around 5 knots on four to six tons of coal a day.

"If this steamer gets very far from home," said the *Hawaiian Gazette*, "another vessel will be required as a tender to carry coal . . . and will have to keep a sharp look-out and see that she does not leave this fast steamer out of sight astern." After attacking Gibson personally, the newspaper sneered at the proposed Hawaiian empire in the Pacific as the "Empire of the Calabash."<sup>3</sup>

Gibson wrote Bush on January 22 that the *Explorer* would be put at his disposal just as soon as she could be fitted out and sent to Samoa.<sup>4</sup> About the same time J. S. Webb, Gibson's secretary at the foreign office, wrote H. F. Poor, Bush's secretary at Apia, that Gibson did not want the ship known as a gunboat: "but a gunboat she will be when she reaches you if H. M. [Kalakaua] and Jackson have their way about it."<sup>5</sup>

George E. Gresley Jackson, a retired British navigating lieutenant and master of the Honolulu Reformatory School, was to command the ship. She was to be manned in part by 24 young men from the school, of whom 21 constituted a band. They would awe the Samoans with martial music.<sup>6</sup> After a talk with Gibson, British Minister to Hawaii James H. Wodehouse reported to the British foreign office that the *Explorer* was to be refitted as a gunboat and training ship. She would take a gorgeous uniform and a fine carriage and horses as gifts for

Malietao, the Samoan ruler favored by Hawaii. The ship would also convey Bush to Tonga and to the Gilbert Islands.<sup>7</sup>

George W. Merrill, U. S. minister to Hawaii, reported to Secretary of State Bayard that the ship "may be considered as an adjunct for carrying out the Hawaiian policy of assisting the Polynesian communities in securing . . . permanent autonomy . . . . As public sentiment here [in Honolulu], especially among the business portion of the community, does not sympathize with the proposed Hawaiian policy regarding Polynesian communities, every expenditure of money in that direction is severely criticized."<sup>8</sup>

In the last week of January, while the ship lay anchored at the Fish Market wharf, the cabinet council designated her as His Hawaiian Majesty's Training Ship *Kaimiloa* (Hawaiian for *Explorer*). Webb, in a memo to Gibson, estimated the cost of refit at \$14,000. This included re-rigging from schooner to bark, equipment for the crew, and everything needed to put to sea. The cabinet quickly approved the proposed outlay.<sup>9</sup>

The cost would likely be closer to \$50,000 than \$14,000, said the *Gazette*. "Money wasted . . . roads in a frightful condition . . . . This is the time chosen to saddle the country with a toy ship for which she has as much need as a cow for a diamond necklace." Those who paid taxes, hinted the editor, would not stand for this sort of thing much longer.<sup>10</sup> The work went on nevertheless under supervision of J. S. Webb, now paymaster of the navy as well as Secretary of the Foreign Office. Among other things he had to look after uniforms for officers and crew. By early February the reform school boys were walking about town in gaudy new uniforms.<sup>11</sup>

Apart from gold braid and shiny buttons, the Hawaiian navy could not of course put to sea without a suitable flag. Mrs. J. D. Strong (Isobel Strong, stepdaughter of Robert Louis Stevenson) was therefore given the task of designing one. Her design showed, on a white background, a gold crown resting on a yellow shield. The shield contained a white kapu (taboo) stick, crossed by two red kahilis (royal feather standards). One kahili represented King Kalakaua and the other his sister and heir apparent, Princess Liliuokalani. Around the crown and shield were horizontal red, white, and blue stripes.<sup>12</sup>

When refitting of the *Kaimiloa* began to lag, Webb wrote Gibson on April 22 explaining that the \$14,000 appropriation was practically exhausted. He estimated he would need \$23,000 more. Having only \$60 on hand, he begged Gibson for money to meet the next day's payroll. Somehow Gibson found the money.<sup>13</sup>

The United States, Great Britain, and Germany had been following closely the progress of the Hawaiian navy. Merrill, U. S. minister to Hawaii, wrote Bayard on February 15, 1887, that the *Kaimiloa* would carry material to build a church and school in Apia, Samoa.

This was to be paid for out of a \$5,000 fund subscribed by the Hawaiian people. A minister and a school teacher would also go along.<sup>14</sup>

In Washington, Bayard asked Hawaii's Ambassador H. A. P. Carter about the *Kaimiloa* and also about reported efforts to buy another warship in Great Britain. "What are they going to do with two armed vessels?"

Carter said that these were going to Samoa to "protect Mr. Bush."

"By getting into a conflict with the German man-of-war there?" asked Bayard.

Carter said that Gibson was misleading King Kalakaua completely. The king hoped to become the great leader of the Pacific. Bayard said he could see nothing in all this "that had a show of prudence or wisdom."<sup>15</sup>

In Hawaii, British Minister Wodehouse wrote to the British foreign office that the *Kaimiloa* was to be the start of a Hawaiian navy. "The King's vanity and love of display, fostered and encouraged by that 'evil genius' of the Kingdom, Mr. Gibson, is leading him . . . into every kind of folly and extravagance." King Kalakaua intended, wrote Wodehouse, to send gin and champagne by the *Kaimiloa* to restock Ambassador Bush's cellars "which must be running dry by this time."<sup>16</sup>

Just what was the mission of the ship? Primarily, according to Gibson, she was supposed to wield *moral* influence over the peoples of Polynesia. She would, to be sure, carry a band and saluting guns to honor such chiefs as Malietoa and to impress the islanders. But Gibson wrote Bush that the ship, though armed with two Gatling guns and four Winchester 6-pounders, would not be permitted to wage war.<sup>17</sup> Gibson had ample warning from Bayard, through Carter, that any show of force in Samoa would bring quick counter-action by Germany.

At first, and at the highest level, the Germans took the *Kaimiloa* quite seriously. When Count Bismarck got word that the ship was going to Samoa to support the Hawaiian mission, he wrote to the German chief of admiralty that he was "deeply concerned." He feared that the Hawaiian warship's meddling might cause disorder among rival Samoan chiefs. It might "necessitate intervention to protect our citizens living there."<sup>18</sup>

The Hawaiian cabinet on March 28, 1887, authorized Gibson to proclaim the ship in commission. The proclamation was published together with news of a political confederation that had been entered into between King Kalakaua and King Malietoa.<sup>19</sup> (King Kalakaua had accepted the confederation subject to King Malietoa's obligations to other powers. Great Britain and the United States thought the confederation presumptuous and unwise; Germany considered it an insulting gesture of defiance.)<sup>20</sup>

King Kalakaua gave a dance at Iolani Palace on April 20, 1887, honoring officers of both the *Kaimiloa* and H. M. S. *Caroline*, then in Honolulu harbor. Gibson presented the Hawaiian officers to the king.



One by one the king called them up for their commissions: "I congratulate the Secretary of War and of the Navy on the fine appearance of the officers, and hope they will give a good account of themselves."

"Your Majesty," said Gibson, "I too am pleased and proud at the appearance of the officers. I have no doubt they will prove loyal servants to Your Majesty."

Iolani Palace was brilliantly lighted and Henry Berger's Royal Hawaiian band played till two in the morning. Bandmaster Berger honored the impending departure of the ship with a special composition, the "Kaimiloa March." During the evening King Kalakaua proposed a toast to Captain Sir W. Wiseman and other officers of the *Caroline*. Captain Wiseman responded not with a toast to Captain Jackson and the *Kaimiloa*, but "To the ladies, God bless them!"<sup>21</sup>

Gibson wrote Bush on May 14 that the ship would go directly to Apia, where Jackson would place himself under Bush's orders. "Economy in running this ship," wrote Gibson, "is of vital importance, as the appropriation for the purpose has been heavily trenched by her outfit[ing]." Webb, secretary of the foreign office, would accompany the ship. He would serve as Bush's adviser. Probably too, because of disquieting rumors that had reached Honolulu about Bush's conduct, Gibson wanted Webb to keep an eye on him. Webb was to report "the true condition of affairs in Samoa."<sup>22</sup>

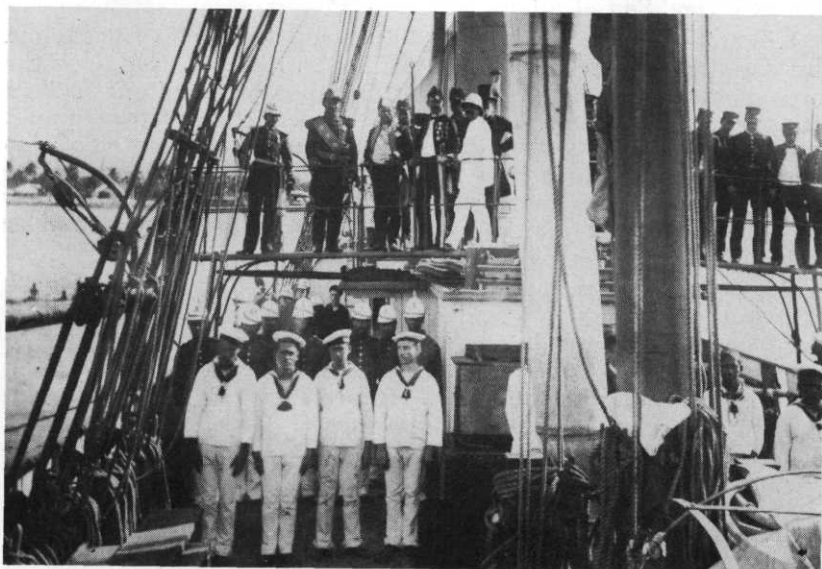
Gibson's plans for sending a minister and teacher to Samoa, and also a church and schoolhouse, were not carried out. Nor were the carriage and horses for Malietoa sent. But the ornate uniform for him was put aboard. Gibson also arranged to send twenty photographs of King Kalakaua. These Bush was to present to Samoan chiefs "so that the Samoan people may become familiar with the face of the Polynesian monarch . . . whose main idea is to extend to her people the same advantages that have enabled Hawaii to be recognized as an independent and progressive Kingdom."<sup>24</sup>

After many delays, the *Kaimiloa* was scheduled to sail on May 17, 1887. But that morning Honolulu awoke to news of a serious row on board the night before. Acting Sub-Lt. James Kaluahine, having used up his own supply of "sand-paper gin," had gone forward to help the common sailors use up theirs. Attracted by the noise, two midshipmen on watch came along. They ordered Kaluahine to his cabin. He told them where they could go. A general brawl resulted, amounting to near mutiny.

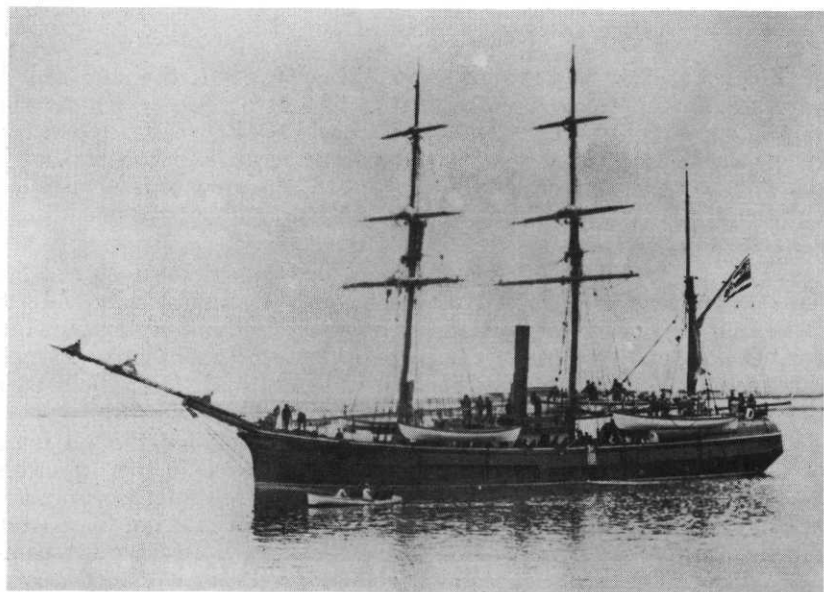
One of the quartermasters got a boat over the side and pulled for shore. He roused Premier Gibson who telephoned Captain Jackson to come downtown at once. Gibson and Jackson went aboard the *Kaimiloa* and by 1:30 in the morning had put down the disturbance. Kaluahine and two other officers were summarily dismissed and replaced by officers from the King's Guard.<sup>25</sup> (These last had never seen any naval service.)



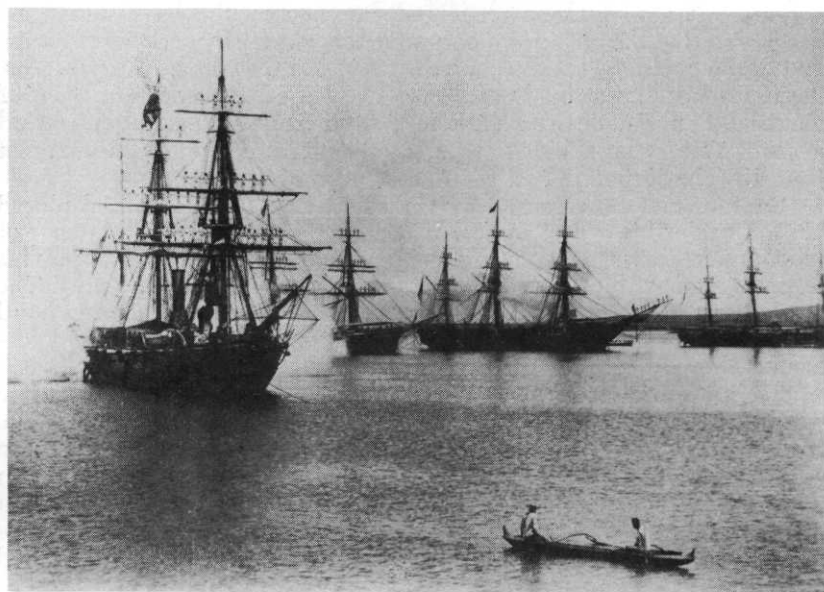
*King Malietoa on board the Kaimiloa. Principal figures, left to right: King Malietoa, holding cigar in right hand and sword in left; John E. Bush, Hawaiian ambassador to Samoa; Henry F. Poor, Bush's secretary. Source: Public Archives of Hawaii.*



*King Malietoa on board the Kaimiloa. Principal figures, left to right: King Malietoa of Samoa; John E. Bush, Hawaiian ambassador to Samoa (with coat open); Henry F. Poor, Bush's secretary (with coat open and wearing a lot of medals). Note that Jackson is visible (partly obscured) just to the left of the mast. Source: Public Archives of Hawaii.*



*Kaimiloa at anchor in Honolulu harbor. Source: Public Archives of Hawaii.*



*Kaimiloa in Honolulu harbor, with crew manning the yards. Kaimiloa is at left. Other ships unidentified. Source: R. J. Baker Collection, Public Archives of Hawaii.*

Finally at 8:30 in the morning of May 18, 1887, the ship sailed. Several hundred persons crowded the wharf to see her go. As the ship left Honolulu harbor, the British iron bark *Glengaber* dipped her ensign in salute. The *Kaimiloa* did not respond. She had to let go the anchor to avoid ramming the *Glengaber*. The crew of the Hawaiian navy were too busy avoiding disaster to worry about the niceties of marine protocol.<sup>26</sup>

From the first day out Captain Jackson seemed strangely ill. He had a fever and complained of seasickness. Though hardly able to carry out his duties, he took sights regularly without trying to work out his position. Two officers and three crew members later charged that for most of the first ten days he had been drunk. On the eleventh day out he suddenly recovered and took control of the ship.<sup>27</sup>

Surprisingly, there were few problems of discipline though some of the boys did pilfer stores which had been stowed in their quarters because of shortage of space. One boy, on being sent aloft for a minor breach of rules proceeded to entangle a sail so it could not be moved. For this Captain Jackson ordered a dozen lashes before the ship's company. Generally, the boys seemed well-behaved and willing to learn. Gibson had intended they should continue their education, and for that purpose books had been put aboard. But no one gave instruction, and the books lay untouched in their crates.<sup>28</sup>

After Captain Jackson recovered, he checked the back sights and concluded that the ship's two chronometers were not working properly. As best he could, he set the course for Apia on the island of Upolu. But the first landfall was made on June 14, 1887, off the northern point of the island of Savaii. The ship lost another day steaming up wind toward Apia, whose lights were sighted at three in the morning of June 15. The *Kaimiloa* had been at sea almost a month.<sup>29</sup>

Captain Jackson reported to Ambassador John E. Bush and placed himself under his orders. A few hours later Captain Weitersheimer of the German corvette *Adler* came aboard the Hawaiian ship to pay his respects, and within the hour Captain Jackson returned the visit. The two vessels afterwards exchanged concerts. When the *Kaimiloa* band also gave a concert at the Hawaiian legation, both Samoans and foreigners thought it quite a treat.<sup>30</sup>

Bush presented to King Malietoa the colorful uniform and fine wardrobe that the *Kaimiloa* had brought down as gifts from Kalakaua. Malietoa proudly wore the uniform at a reception for Captain Jackson and his officers at the government building in Apia. When Malietoa in turn visited aboard ship, he was greeted with full honors including a 21-gun salute. Since the king and other Samoan chiefs seemed to take a personal pride in the ship, Bush believed that her arrival had strengthened Hawaii's position in Samoa.<sup>31</sup>

After several days at Apia the *Kaimiloa* left for Tutuila to meet the mail steamer. The German consul ordered the *Adler* to follow her. This proved fortunate for Captain Jackson who was prostrated with

dysentery. He got medical aid from the *Adler's* surgeon, and on return to Apia got further attention at the house of a Samoan chief under arrangements made by Bush.<sup>32</sup>

Even though Jackson had to remain ashore, Bush ordered the *Kaimiloa* to sea again. He wanted to visit Mataafa, a chief who ruled the Atua district at the east end of Upolu. Mataafa had supported Tamasese, the chief backed by the Germans, but was now leaning toward Malietoa. The *Adler*, with the German vice consul aboard, followed the *Kaimiloa*. When the Germans found Mataafa entertaining the Hawaiians, they invited him aboard the *Adler*. He refused. If the Germans wanted to see him, they should come ashore and join the feast. After this snub they carried off Mataafa's "talking chief" and another high chief. That night in Apia harbor the Germans lighted up the *Adler*, fired off rockets, and acted as if they had won a great battle. They spread the rumor that Mataafa was aboard and they had succeeded in getting him away from the Hawaiians.<sup>33</sup>

With Jackson indisposed much of the time, the officers and crew of the *Kaimiloa* began to go ashore almost nightly to carouse in the streets of Apia. One night gunner William Cox, on returning to the ship, got into a fight with other officers. He rushed the powder magazine, threatening to blow up the ship. Lt. Frank J. Waiau and ship's carpenter John Galway stopped him, but the brawling went on. Lt. Sam I. Maikai, nominally in command, went ashore with Waiau to report to the Hawaiian legation. They wanted to resign but Bush would not hear of it. He ordered them back on board and sent along his secretary, H. F. Poor. Jackson also went along with them. He and Poor, revolvers in hand, found the mutineers trying to take over the armory. They drove the mutineers out on deck. Waiau over-powered Cox and put him in irons on the bridge.<sup>34</sup>

Possibly thinking it might be well to get the ship out of sight of Apia, Bush sailed gaily off to Afega, the country residence of Malietoa. Jackson went along because he feared for the safety of his ship. Bush wanted to take Malietoa to visit various places on Upolu and Savaii in an effort to unite the Samoan chiefs behind him; but Malietoa declined to go. Bush made several stops on the two islands, sending the band boys ashore to entertain. He also dispensed seven of fourteen cases of gin he had picked up at Apia.<sup>35</sup>

On return to Apia July 19, Bush found waiting for him a letter of June 10 from Gibson asking for his resignation. The reason, wrote Gibson, was a letter from King Malietoa complaining of Bush's conduct. Poor was to replace Bush to wind up affairs of the mission. In a separate letter to Poor, Gibson gave as reasons for the recall earnest appeals made by the United States and England: "We desire to avoid any possible appearance of any indiscretion or precipitancy or to give them the slightest grounds of apprehension as to our conduct."<sup>36</sup>

In Hawaii, meanwhile, a revolution of June 30, 1887, forced King Kalakaua to sign a new constitution that took away much of his power.



He was also forced to remove Premier Gibson from all his offices. Gibson had been the leader in carrying out Hawaii's "Primacy of the Pacific" policy. There can be little doubt that this policy, the antics of the Samoan mission, and the affair *Kaimiloa* had contributed mightily to bringing down the government.

Godfrey Brown, new minister of foreign affairs, wrote Poor on July 7 telling him to close down the Hawaiian legation at Samoa entirely. Poor ordered Jackson to give Bush and his family passage on the *Kaimiloa*. Bush declined. He claimed he had instructions from King Kalakaua and a request from King Malietoa to remain as his adviser.<sup>37</sup>

Poor wrote Brown that he feared the recall would be "a great disappointment to Malietoa and his chiefs who rely on the Hawaiian Mission for moral support without which they might be forced into hostilities with the rebels under their German leadership . . . The presence of the Hawaiian Embassy . . . has tended to preserve the peace, and the arrival of the *Kaimiloa* served as a strong influence to reunite wavering chiefs under Malietoa."<sup>38</sup>

On August 6 Poor and Webb went on the *Kaimiloa* to Afega to take leave of Malietoa. The Samoan king expressed regret at the departure of the Hawaiian mission, and hinted he would like to sail on the ship to confer with King Kalakaua about the Hawaii-Samoa confederation. Poor did not encourage this because of possible embarrassment to the Hawaiian government.<sup>39</sup>

On August 8 the *Kaimiloa* steamed out of Apia harbor under orders to proceed non-stop to Honolulu. In spite of her record of rowdyism and riots, flags ashore were raised in her honor (except at the German consulate). Boats in the harbor dipped their ensigns in parting salutes. Poor and Webb stayed behind to wind up embassy affairs. At the ship's departure, wrote Poor, he had a feeling of "intense relief."<sup>40</sup>

What had the ship accomplished? The British vice consul at Apia wrote to the foreign office: "It is the opinion of the majority of Europeans and . . . United States' citizens that . . . the *Kaimiloa* . . . has not tended to increase or sustain the confidence of the Samoans in the . . . friendship and aid offered by His Hawaiian Majesty, owing to the generally loose way in which matters were conducted on board."<sup>41</sup> U. S. Minister H. M. Sewall wrote from Apia: "As an offset to German intrigues the [*Kaimiloa's*] presence here has done some good. It has irritated the Germans and kept them busy. On the whole, however, the *Kaimiloa's* career has been utterly discreditable." Sewall also wrote that Bush had borrowed large sums from Americans in Apia, and his checks were being returned for lack of funds.<sup>42</sup>

Ten days after the *Kaimiloa* left Apia, Poor and Webb arrived by mail cutter at Leone Bay, Tutuila, to await the regular steamer for Honolulu. They were amazed to learn that the *Kaimiloa* was still at Pago Pago on the south side of Tutuila. Poor sent a messenger with a curt note to Jackson asking about the delay and warning him that he

faced court-martial. Jackson did not answer and was doubtless in no condition to do so. Boatswain James F. Hilbus, now second in command, wrote to Poor that Jackson had told him he had orders to survey the harbor. Hilbus hoped the ship would leave about August 20.<sup>43</sup>

In a report to Brown, Poor wrote: "I hope some day we shall see the *Kaimiloa* again in Honolulu."<sup>44</sup> Evidently he had some doubts about this.

At Pago Pago the crew had been allowed shore liberty. On August 11 Governor Mauga of Tutuila paid an official visit to the ship and was greeted with a 17-gun salute. A few days later Hilbus sent two marines ashore to keep an eye on Jackson, for the ship's rifles, ammunition, and silver service had begun to disappear. Captain Jackson had been trading them off for food and drink. The band boys went ashore on August 21 to play at a reception for a Samoan chief. The log for this day concluded briefly: "Big commotion ashore at Leone Bay." Next day three boys jumped ship. As the log charitably put it: "They did not think of deserting but stayed ashore because no one came after them." Though the boys were still missing, the ship left on August 23 for Honolulu.<sup>45</sup>

None too soon. For on August 24 the Germans declared war on Malietoa and quickly sent him into temporary exile. Prince Bismarck a few weeks earlier had threatened such action if Malietoa did not give "necessary satisfaction for the past and sufficient guaranties for the future." And Bismarck had added: "In case Hawaii, whose King acts according to financial principles which it is not desirable to extend to Samoa, should try to interfere in favor of Malietoa, the King of the Sandwich Islands would thereby enter into a state of war with us."<sup>46</sup> In an outburst to one of his associates, Bismarck was also reported to have said: "King Kalakaua could be told that, unless he desisted from his insolent intrigues in Samoa, we should shoot his legs in two, despite his American protection."<sup>47</sup>

The *Kaimiloa* was sighted off Barber's Point, Oahu, in the morning of September 23, 1887. She had been over a month enroute. Lt. Waiau's feelings on nearing Honolulu are reflected in one of the last entries in his log: "Much shame have we undergone, but Hawaii is still the best." Captain Jackson was reported to be looking well, but his right hand seemed to be paralyzed. Crew members said they were glad to get home to some fish and poi. They had had too much salt beef.<sup>48</sup>

About all of note that the ship had brought back from Samoa was a gift for Kalakaua, a fine war canoe cut out of the trunk of a tree.<sup>49</sup> On balance, the king had little reason to feel grateful for the canoe. It could hardly compensate for the near loss of his throne. The whole Samoan mission could only sadly remind him of the Hawaiian Revolution of 1887, a few months earlier.

The government made little effort to investigate charges of misconduct aboard ship and ashore at Samoa. Since the ship was an embarrassment, the official attitude seems to have been the less said about

her the better. The officers and men were paid off through September 30, 1887. Foreign Minister Brown published a notice that the ship was out of commission from that day on.<sup>50</sup> The Hawaiian navy, commissioned on March 28, 1887, was *pau*—finished. It had lasted 187 days.

Captain Jackson could not look forward to any job approaching in prestige that of "admiral" in the navy. Doubtless too, any attempt by him to resume as master of the reform school would have raised some eyebrows. He therefore left for San Francisco on October 25, 1887, with his wife and eight children.<sup>51</sup> There a reporter, expecting to find in Jackson "a black-bearded monster of the pirate stamp," found instead "a pleasant gentlemanly appearing man of about fifty years of age, intellectual and perfectly at his ease." Jackson made some contemptuous remarks about the abilities of the Hawaiians as sailors. They had none of the habits of officers and gentlemen and were "fit only to drink gin."<sup>52</sup>

What of the *Kaimiloa* in the meantime? She rested at anchor in Honolulu harbor, serving as a quarantine station for immigrant laborers. On New Year's Day, 1888, some of her former officers wore their uniforms about town. They were the laughing stock of Honolulu.<sup>53</sup>

L. A. Thurston, minister of the interior, advertised that the ship would be sold at public auction. At noon on May 14, on the steps of the government building, the ship was sold to Inter-Island Steam Navigation Co. for \$2,800. (She had cost the government more than \$80,000 and bills were still coming in!)<sup>54</sup> Inter-Island removed the ward room and other compartments and converted the former man-of-war to a three-masted freighter. The disemboweled ship was used to carry sugar cargoes between the islands.<sup>55</sup>

By 1900 the *Kaimiloa*, a dilapidated hulk, lay at anchor in naval row at the northwesterly end of Honolulu harbor. Cut down to a scow, the ship had been serving only within the harbor.<sup>56</sup> The Matson Navigation Co. bought her in June, 1902, from Inter-Island. By this time salt spray and wind had beaten the very name of the ship off prow and stern. Her hull was heavy with barnacles. Matson fitted the *Kaimiloa* out as an oil barge to supply steamers within the harbor, and also used her to help float derelicts in naval row.<sup>57</sup>

The ship was dying. But the end was not yet.

(In San Francisco, George E. Gresley Jackson, once the admiral of the Hawaiian navy, was found dead on March 25, 1907, in an abandoned street-car that had been standing at the corner of Gough and McAllister streets. Causes of death were reported as heart and liver trouble, and malnutrition. A son in San Francisco said he could have provided him a good home; but Jackson had preferred drifting about the streets.)<sup>58</sup>

In 1910 the *Kaimiloa* passed into the hands of C. H. Brown of the Honolulu Scrap Iron Co. Brown used the vessel for a time as a coal barge. This proved unprofitable. In May, 1912, he loaded the ship with tar barrels and had her towed out to Puuloa Flats, near Pearl Harbor.



Without naval honors, without ceremony of any kind, the *Kaimiloa* was beached and burned. Her ashes were raked over for copper and other scrap metal, which Brown then sold for junk.<sup>59</sup>

During her lifetime the *Kaimiloa* symbolized the futility of Hawaii's policy of primacy in the Pacific. The ship enabled opponents of King Kalakaua to dramatize charges of bungling and waste. These contributed to the downfall of the Gibson ministry and nearly cost the king his throne. In Samoa, the ship irritated the Germans and caused threats of war against Hawaii. International complications loomed, for Germany suspected that the United States stood behind the Hawaiian intrigues.

In after-years the *Kaimiloa*, despite her miserable end, stirred up many tall tales of the sea and salty yearnings for Hawaii's days of naval might and glory.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Cabinet Council Minute Book, 1874-1891, pp. 356, 359, Archives of Hawaii; *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 22, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> Lloyds certificate, Army and Navy file, Papers on Kaimiloa, Archives of Hawaii; Deed, January 21, 1887, Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>3</sup> *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 25, 1887.

<sup>4</sup> Gibson to Bush, January 22, 1887, Letter Book Consular and Miscellaneous, 1873-1900, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>5</sup> Webb to Poor, January 23, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Wodehouse to My Lord, January (nd), 1887, (copy) British Consulate file, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>8</sup> Merrill to Bayard, January 24, 1887, Desp. from U. S. Ministers to Hawaii, National Archives (University of Hawaii microfilm).

<sup>9</sup> Cabinet Council Minute Book, 1874-1891, pp. 360, 362, Archives of Hawaii; Webb to Gibson, January 31, 1887, Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>10</sup> *Hawaiian Gazette*, February 1, 8, 1887.

<sup>11</sup> *Hawaiian Gazette*, February 22, 1887; Army and Navy file, Papers on Kaimiloa, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>12</sup> *Hawaiian Gazette*, March 22, 1887; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 4, 5, 1887; *Honolulu Bulletin*, March 16, 1887; Flag file, and Picture file, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>13</sup> Webb to Gibson, April 22, 1887, Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>14</sup> Merrill to Bayard, February 15, 1887, Desp. from U. S. Ministers to Hawaii, National Archives (University of Hawaii microfilm).

<sup>15</sup> Bayard memo of March 11, 1887, cited in Charles C. Tansill's *Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885-1897* (Fordham University Press, 1940), p. 41.

<sup>16</sup> Wodehouse to Salisbury, March 16, 1887, British Public Records Office, FO 58, vol. 220, pp. 113-114 (University of Hawaii microfilm).

<sup>17</sup> Gibson to Bush, March 19, 1887, Letter Book Consular and Miscellaneous, 1873-1900, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>18</sup> Count Bismarck to Imperial German Chief of Admiralty, June 25, 1887, German Naval Archives, Pacific Islands, 1875-1916 (University of Hawaii microfilm).

<sup>19</sup> Copy of proclamation in Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>20</sup> U.S., 50th Congr., 1st sess., *House Ex. Document 238*, "American Rights in Samoa," pp. 42-52; Great Britain, Colonial Office, *Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Samoa*, 1885-89, pp. 124-126.

<sup>21</sup> *Bulletin*, April 22, 1887; *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 26, 1887.

<sup>22</sup> Gibson to Bush, May 14, 1887, Letter Book Consular and Miscellaneous, 1873-1900, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>23</sup> Gibson to Carter, June 4, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>24</sup> Gibson to Bush, May 17, 1887, Letter Book Consular and Miscellaneous, 1873-1900, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>25</sup> Gibson to Jackson, May 17, 1887, Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii; *Bulletin*, May 17, 1887; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 18, 1887; *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 24, 1887.

<sup>26</sup> *Bulletin*, May 18, 1887; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 19, 1887.

<sup>27</sup> Statement of Charles Lind, W. O., and others, probably about October 15, 1887, Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii; Webb to Gibson, June 21, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>28</sup> Webb to Gibson, June 21, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Archives of Hawaii; Waiau Log of the Kaimiloa, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 2, 1913. Two logs of the Kaimiloa's voyage to Samoa and return were kept, both in books which King Kalakaua had presented as gifts: one by Lt. Sam I. Maikai, which is in the Archives of Hawaii; the other by Lt. Frank J. Waiau. The Waiau log has disappeared, but was reproduced, apparently in full, in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* for November 2, 1913.

<sup>29</sup> Webb to Gibson, June 21, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii; Jackson to Gibson, June 16, 1887, Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>30</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 3, 1887, (Interview with J. D. Strong); Jackson to Gibson, June 16, 1887, Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii; Poor to Godfrey Brown (Hawaiian foreign minister), August 23, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>31</sup> Bush to Gibson, June 21, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 3, 1887; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 2, 1913.

<sup>32</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 3, 1887.

<sup>33</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 3, 1887; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 27, 1887, citing *New Zealand Herald*, July 12, 1887. Robert Louis Stevenson in *Footnote to History* (New York, 1892), p. 61, comments: "Mataafa is entertaining the plenipotentiary of a sovereign power in treaty with his own king, and the captain of a German corvette orders him to quit his own guests."

<sup>34</sup> Webb to Brown, July 18, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii; Poor to Brown, August 23, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 3, 1887, November 2, 1913.

<sup>35</sup> Webb to Brown, August 27, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 3, 1887, November 2, 1913.

<sup>36</sup> Gibson to Bush, June 10, 1887, Letter Book Consular and Miscellaneous, 1873-1900, Archives of Hawaii; Gibson to Poor, June 10, 1887, same source; Gibson to Poor, also June 10, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>37</sup> Brown to Poor, July 7, 1887, Letter Book Consular and Miscellaneous, 1873-1900, Archives of Hawaii; Bush to Jackson, August 2, 1887, Kaimiloa file,

Archives of Hawaii; William H. Wilson to James H. Wodehouse, August 15, 1887, Archives of British Consulate Samoa, 1880-1889, (University of Hawaii microfilm).

<sup>38</sup> Poor to Brown, July 19, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>39</sup> Poor to Brown, August 23, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii; Webb to Brown, August 27, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>40</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 2, 1913; Poor to Brown, August 23, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>41</sup> W. H. Wilson to Lord Salisbury, August 10, 1887 (enclosed in Pauncefote to Wodehouse, September 30, 1887), British consulate records, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>42</sup> H. M. Sewall to James D. Porter (Asst. U. S. Secretary of State), July 19, 1887, Desp. from U. S. Consuls, Apia, National Archives (University of Hawaii microfilm).

<sup>43</sup> Webb to Brown, August 27, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii; Poor to Brown, August 23, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii; Hilbus to Poor, about August 19, 1887, Army and Navy file, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>44</sup> Poor to Brown, August 23, 1887, Hawaiian officials abroad, Samoa, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>45</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 2, 1913; Statement of Charles Lind, W. O., and others, probably about October 15, 1887, Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>46</sup> U. S., 50th Congr., 1st sess., *House Ex. Document* 238, "American Rights in Samoa," pp. 59-60 (Prince von Bismarck to von Alvensleben, German minister to U.S., August 7, 1887, left at U.S. Dept. of State, August 29).

<sup>47</sup> Count Otto zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Germany and the United States . . . during the Era of Bismarck* (Reading, Pa.: Janssen Foundation, 1937), p. 247.

<sup>48</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 26, 1887; *Hawaiian Gazette*, September, 27, 1887; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 2, 1913.

<sup>49</sup> *Hawaiian Gazette*, September 27, 1887.

<sup>50</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 1, 1887.

<sup>51</sup> *Bulletin*, October 25, 1887.

<sup>52</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 16, 1887, *S. F. Alta California*, November 6, 1887.

<sup>53</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 4, 1888.

<sup>54</sup> *Bulletin*, May 14, 1888; Bill of sale, Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii; summary of costs and expenses (about October 1, 1887), Kaimiloa file, Archives of Hawaii.

<sup>55</sup> *Bulletin*, May 14, 24, 1888.

<sup>56</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 1, 4, 1900.

<sup>57</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 8, 1902; May 5, June 29, 1906.

<sup>58</sup> *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 9, 1907, citing S. F. dispatches, March 27, 28. S. F. *Bulletin*, March 26, 1907; S. F. *Examiner*, S. F. *Chronicle*, March 27, 1907.

<sup>59</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 20, 1912; *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 21, 1912; *Honolulu Advertiser*, July 6, 1925.



PETER KA'EO  
*Cousin of Queen Emma*

# PETER KA'EO'S WREATH: A BALLAD PERFORMED

Alfons L. Korn

## *The Performers*

Historian

Chanter: Peter Ka'eo

First Hawaiian Lady: Queen Emma

Second Hawaiian Lady: Paniku Hua, a *haka*

*The height of the adventure is the height  
Of country where two village cultures faded  
Into each other. Both of them are lost.*

Robert Frost, *Directive*

Part One: *The Definition of a Lei*

Part Two: *Torches in a Cloud*

*Note:*—*Peter Ka'eo's Wreath* was first performed on the evening of October 17, 1963, at a meeting of members of the Hawaiian Historical Society and their guests, at the Hawaiian Historical Society and Mission Children's Library in Honolulu. Ka'upena Wong was the Chanter. He also represented Peter Ka'eo. Noelani Mahoe, the First Hawaiian Lady, represented Queen Emma. Ruby Johnson, the Second Hawaiian Lady, called out the running cue-phrases from the Ballad of Molokai. Ruby also spoke the prophecies of the *haka*, Paniku Hua. Alfons Korn assumed the role of the Historian. He also recited the free renderings in English verse of the several Hawaiian chants. We are indebted to Mary Kawena Puku'i for the texts of the chants of Queen Emma and for assistance of many kinds extending over years. The quotation from "Directive" (from *Complete Poems of Robert Frost*, copyright 1947 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.) has been reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. For further acknowledgments and details, see pp. 52-54.

## PART ONE: THE DEFINITION OF A LEI

HISTORIAN. (*Book in hand. He looks up and down now and then, mostly up. He is not always professorial. His name could be Harold, Wilburham, Jack—or even Ishmael.*)

The Definition of a Lei, from the *Hawaiian-English Dictionary*. By Puku'i-Elbert.<sup>1</sup>

*First:*

*Lei, garland, wreath,  
Necklace of flowers, leaves, shells,  
Ivory, feathers, or paper.  
Given as a symbol of affection . . .  
Special song presenting a lei.*

*And second:*

*To leap,  
Fling,  
Toss,  
To spring forward:  
To rise, as a cloud!*

Our beginning is most logical, sociological, biological . . . and genealogical: a special song celebrating the story, and recording the singular case, of Peter Ka'eo, otherwise known as Mr. Peter Young—

*aka*<sup>2</sup> Peter Young Ka'eo  
*aka* P. Y. Ka'eo  
*aka* "Pita"  
*aka* Pekelo Iana  
*aka*—above all—Kekuaokalani . . .

[*Briskly, in more clipped accent.*] Presenting the Honorable Peter Young:

*We had with us another of the King's A.D.C.'s, a cousin of the Queen, partly descended like herself from Old John Young, and who goes only by his European name, Mr. Peter Young (I forget his native name). We did not particularly admire him and were very glad to have had Col. Kalakaua with us in Hawaii, instead of Mr. Young, who was at first fixed on by the King and introduced to us as our future escort. From the Letters of Sophia Cracroft, an English traveller who visited Victorian Hawaii with Lady Franklin during the summer of 1861.*<sup>3</sup>

[*Resuming academic tone.*] The everyday name of the Peter Young mentioned by Miss Cracroft as the aide-de-camp of King Kamehameha IV was Peter Young Ka'eo (1836-1880). He was a full cousin of Queen Emma, the son of Joshua Ka'eo and Jane Lahilahi Young Ka'eo, one of Queen Emma's two aunts. From boyhood he was as close to Emma as a brother. After Emma became a childless widow and Peter took up his Molokai exile, he became all the more like a brother or dear unlucky son.

His chiefly name was Kekuaokalani, The-Sacred-Back-of-the-Chief; or, more figuratively, The-Yonder-Side-of-Heaven. Peter inherited the name from his famous ancestor of the time of Kamehameha II, the Kekuaokalani who in 1819 had defied the young revolutionary king—his own cousin Liholiho—by refusing to join with Liholiho and Liholiho's female relations in violating the ancient eating kapu. Before his death, Kamehameha the Great had bequeathed his kingdom to Liholiho. To Kekuaokalani he had given the guardianship of the war-god, Kuka'ilimoku. (It seems that in olden times the royal rule of the land and the war-god, being alike in nature and forming a dual charge, usually went together to the same person, a single high chieftain. There was precedent, however, for the division of the charge between two.) But by the turn of the nineteenth century, many an old custom was breaking down. Finally, in 1819 the old way of *'ai kapu*, with the women excluded from the feasting, ended forever. As a result of his quarrel with Liholiho over kapu eating versus free eating, Kekuaokalani the priestly *kipi*, the conservative "rebel", died bravely in battle for the sake of the traditional Hawaiian religion.

On his mother's side, Peter was a great-grandson of Keli'imaika'i, a younger brother of Kamehameha the Great. He was also, like Emma, descended from John Young, one of two British mariners—Isaac Davis was the other—who fought as chiefs and companions-in-arms under Kamehameha the Great. At the age of seven or eight, the smallest of the lot, "Pita" for a while was one of the lively troupe of young Hawaiian aristocrats tutored and trained by Mr. and Mrs. Amos Starr Cooke, New England missionaries, at their cautiously progressive coeducational boarding school in Honolulu, established during the 1840's for the children of royal chiefs. During his twenties, at the court of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, where Miss Cracroft and Lady Franklin met him, but remained unimpressed, he served as royal aide and gentleman-in-waiting at the Old Palace.

It was not until the late 1860's that Peter showed clear signs of leprosy. At any rate, not until then were the symptoms of



his case successfully diagnosed. King Kamehameha V, Queen Emma's brother-in-law, Lot Kamehameha, wrote to her in 1868: "Peter Ka'eo ought to be put in Kalihi Hospital. It would be an act of humanity to have him removed there, because he would get the proper restraint on his appetite and person. But if allowed to go as he is, he will not last one year. Shall I see that he is put in? He will come out a well man."

Peter probably never went to Kalihi. He never became entirely a well man. But he did, somehow, manage to last. Five years after the King's urgent warning, Peter found himself included, more or less willingly, among the great national roundup of lepers then under way throughout all the main islands of the chain. From Hawaii, from Maui, from Kauai, from Oahu, the boatloads kept coming in. On June 30-July 1, 1873, along with a regular cargo of his fellow victims, Peter arrived at Molokai on the schooner *Kina'u*. He was aged thirty-seven, weighing about 235 pounds, and suffering from a badly diseased foot.

Because he was a full cousin of Queen Emma, and retained his seat *in absentia* in the Hawaiian House of Nobles, the Honorable Peter Young Ka'eo became known as the *ali'i* of the Kalaupapa Settlement. Certainly, by any standards of the 1870's, whether in Honolulu or Kalaupapa or anywhere else, Peter was a very Royal Chief indeed.

In *Peter Ka'eo's Wreath* we have woven together various words and phrases—a cluster of images, allusions, symbolic overtones, suggestions and hints—which one could, if one wanted to, associate with the forgotten name of Peter Ka'eo Emma's "dearest Coz." These words and phrases come almost entirely from Peter himself, though there are one or two allusions that relate darkly to Emma. In any event, the text of our ballad is almost wholly based upon the more than ninety surviving letters in English—Peter's English, interspersed with Peter's Hawaiian—which he wrote from Molokai to Queen Emma in Honolulu between 1873 and 1876.

We gathered and strung this Wreath more for reading or reciting than for singing, but if anyone wants to try singing it or chanting it—well, good luck! . . .

One last word of caution to all local bards, musicians, performers on the 'ukulele, nose-flute or dulcimer: *The footnotes and other explanatory apparatus are positively not for singing—they are strictly kapu!*

[In conversational tone, not slower than a walk, not faster than a jog-trot.]

When you rode John Puni what did you sing?

Do you remember, Peter Young, old songs and their words?



*"Not 'The Last Rose of Summer' but the first Rose of my Winter,  
For John Puni and me and my birds."*

When you climbed Kauhako Hill what did you find?  
What sweet fruit, Peter Young, there in the wild?

*"A salt brown pool turned to yellow and to red,  
And a man and a woman and a child."*

When the schooner hung off shore why did you wave?  
What did you want, Peter Young? What did you pray?

*"For my Grandmother's bowl, my shoes number nine,  
A cake for my birthday, and a Lei."*

What was that Wreath on your hat? Why were you glad?  
What was its name, Peter Young? What made you so proud?

*"'Twas my Queen Emma Lei, and I'll wear it every day  
And will still when I'm wrapped in my shroud."*

When that boy lay a-starving what did he say?  
What last Word, Peter Young, when he died?

*"No Word at all, but a look in his eyes  
When the Worm came crawling from his side."*

When you sat by the window why did you stare?  
What saw you there, Peter Young, so high in the sky?

*"A coffin in a cloud and some torches on each side  
And the Wreaths of their smoke in the air."*

CHANTER. [After pause, resumes quizzing.]

I kou kau 'ana ia Keoni Puni, he aha kau i mele ai?  
Ka mele kahiko hea, e Pekelo Iana, kau i lohe ai?

*"'A'ole 'Ka Loke Hope o ke Kau', aka ka mua o ku'u Ho'oilo,  
No Keoni Puni, no'u nei, a me ku'u manu."*

I kou pi'i 'ana i ka Pu'u o Kauhako, he aha kau i 'ike ai?  
He aha ka mea i loa'a, e Pekelo Iana, i ka wao ma laila?

*"He lua wai uliuli i kahuli a memele, a 'ula,  
He kane, a he wahine, a he keiki."*

I ka moku i ku ai i waho, no ke aha 'oe i ani ai?  
He aha kau i makemake ai, e Pekelo Iana? No ke aha kou mana'o?

*"No ka 'umeke a ku'u kapunawahine, ku'u kama'a helu 'eiwa,  
I mea'ono no ku'u la hanau, a i lei kekahi."*

He aha ka lei i ko papale? No ke aha 'oe i 'oli'oli ai?  
He aha ka inoa o ka pua, e Pekelo Iana? No ke aha kou ha'aheo?

*"Ka lei ia o ku'u Ali'i 'o Ema, e lei no au i na la a pau  
E lei no a ho'omoe 'ia au me ku'u 'a'ahu kupapa'u."*

I ke keiki e make pololi ana, he aha kana i 'olelo ai?  
 He aha ka 'olelo hope, e Pekelo Iana, a make aku ia?  
*"A'ohe hua'olelo, aia na'e ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i na maka,  
 I ke kolo 'ana a ka ilo mai kona 'ao'ao aku."*

I kou noho 'ana ma ka puka aniani, no ke aha 'oe i haka ai?  
 Ha aha kau i 'ike ai, e Pekelo Iana, i luna i ka lani?"  
*"He pahu i ke ao a me na lama ma kona mau 'ao 'ao,  
 A e po'ai ana ka uahi o lakou i ka lewa."*

FIRST HAWAIIAN LADY. *Pekelo Iana: He Mele no Moloka'i.*<sup>4</sup>

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. [*Repeats opening phrase of ballad, with stylized rising inflection, like dancer calling out movements of hula to other performers and singers.*]

*"I kou kau 'ana ia Keoni Puni . . ."*  
 [*"When you rode John Puni . . ."*]<sup>5</sup>

HISTORIAN. Because Peter Ka'eo was lame, sometimes in one foot, sometimes in the other, and sometimes in the two at the same time, he needed a horse. He needed one for exercise and for enjoyment both, and he had one called John Puni, named after the Honolulu friend—a crony of Peter's who owned a livery stable—who gave him the horse as a going-away present. At first, on Molokai, John Puni was in such a miserable state that Peter had to put the poor beast out to pasture. But within a month or two, Peter was riding John Puni everywhere—almost every morning and evening, hardly a day missing, usually along the beach—but sometimes on more extensive excursions, like this one, entirely on horseback, up Kauhako Hill.

PETER. *Yesterday, after I had delivered my letter, I went with my man and boy on Horseback into Kauhako . . . On our way back, I stopped and looked at Kahoali'i's Cave.<sup>6</sup> I was looking at the Trees that grew around it, Breadfruit, Koa, 'Ohi'a, Kukui, Hala and several other Trees, when my man called my attention to a large flat rock, and pointing said, that that was the place where Kahoali'i would sit and receive the cup of 'Awa as it was passed to him . . .*

HISTORIAN. Kahoali'i was a historic conqueror of Molokai. He became a deified hero, and Peter and Emma counted him among their sacred ancestors.

CHANTER. *He inoa no Kalelelonalani,  
 Mo'opuna kapu 'oe a Kamehameha.  
 He wohi na Keli'imaika'i,  
 Nana e hele i ke kapu welo ahi.  
 Ho'ike mai a 'o Kahoali'i,  
 I ke kapu moe a Kalikookalani.*

*No Kalikookalani ke kapu moe,  
 Ua puni 'o Hawaii nui o Keawe,  
 Ua moe 'o Maui puni i ke kapu,  
 Ua moe 'o Oahu puni i ke kapu,  
 Ua moe 'o Kauai puni i ke kapu,  
 'Eha ou 'ano la e Emalani.  
 He ahi 'a, he welo, wohi, he akua  
 'Elua 'ano a 'o Kahoali'i,  
 He akua kapu ia no Kamehameha,  
 'A'ohe nani nana e hele.  
 Ko kapu ahi wela kulukuloku,  
 'O Emalani i ke kapu 'ihi'ihlani.  
 Hea aku makou o mai 'oe,  
 'O Kaleleonalani kou inoa.*

**HISTORIAN.** A name chant for Kaleleonalani,  
 Sacred grandchild of Kamehameha,  
 Keli'imaika'i's descendant  
 Of the rank who bow down in full obeisance to none,  
 Of the rank who walk in the fiery family kapus  
 Flanked by the bearers of torches that burn by day.  
 Kahoali'i shall now reveal  
 The kapu of Kalikookalani,<sup>7</sup>  
 The kapu that exempts from obeisance.  
 To Kalikookalani belongs  
 The kapu of the body freed from bowing down full on the ground.  
 Great Hawaii, island of Keawe, bows down all around to Kalikoo-  
 kalani,  
 Lies at length on the ground at her kapu.  
 Maui bows down at her kapu,  
 Lies at length on the ground at her kapu.  
 Oahu bows down at her kapu,  
 Lies at length on the ground at her kapu.  
 Kauai bows down all around,  
 Lies at length on the ground at her kapu.  
 Four kinds of kapu are yours, O Emalani:  
 The kapu of the lighted fire,  
 The kapu of the noble Kawelo family of Kauai,  
 The kapu of the rank who bow down in full obeisance to none,  
 And now the kapu of the divine priesthood  
 Sprung from Kahoali'i  
 And from the kinship to Kahoali'i  
 And from the kinship to Pele—  
 Kahoali'i of the double distinction,  
 Of the double division,  
 The hero both god and man,

Born of heaven and earth the twain,  
 Most beloved of the great Kamehameha!  
 None dares to tread upon the intense fire of your kapu.  
 No beauty can withstand this kapu of yours that burns.  
 To Emalani belongs the most sacred of all royal kapus.  
 To you we call!  
 Now answer us, O Chiefess, named for the Flight of the Heavenly  
 Chief,  
 Named for the royal husband and the princely boy,  
 Named in remembrance of the Two Who Fled!<sup>8</sup>  
 Kaleleonalani is your Heavenly name.

PETER. . . . *I sat on my Horse looking at the Cave, and around me, and all was so still and quiet and nothing to break the monotony save my own voice, I left and began to climb the banks. When I reached the top, I turned and looked at the place I had just left. I could have sat there and listened to Ghost stories to perfection . . . As my eyes wandered along the coast [Background music of First Hawaiian Lady humming, in Emma's voice, "Home, Sweet Home."] I saw the Schooner Kina'u going your way, so raising my Hat I waved it to the little Schooner that bore me safely here. Then turning to Oahu as I returned Home I sang "Sweet Home."*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. " . . . *he aha kau i mele ai?*"  
 [" . . . what did you sing?"]

HISTORIAN. "Home, Sweet Home," obviously. [*Humming modulates into "Annie Laurie."*] Another favorite was "Annie Laura"—not "Laurie." Very often Peter burst out into what he called his "singing fits."

PETER. *I and my Horseboy Ha'alilio rode on to the Beach. I rode as far as was safe and sat and looked at the wild waves of the Northern Sea come dashing with all its fury against the Rock on which I was sitting. Then another one would come and another one. I sat and watched them as they came in rotation to try their strength, but of no avail. So I sang the air, "What are the wild waves saying," "Love not," and other songs.*

HISTORIAN. Most of Peter's songs were the popular songs—the conventional "parlor" ballads—of the Victorian Age. He had a taste for that sort of thing, just as he had a taste for Byron at his most mawkish, for Sir Walter Scott at his most stilted. Only once in his many letters does Peter mention a song of Hawaiian origin, in the native language, with a local setting and theme.

PETER. *Oh, if I only knew that the Vessel which I saw was the "Queen Emma." I would have sang Maika'i Waipi'o he alo lua na pali, with uncovered head . . .*

FIRST HAWAIIAN LADY. [Sings opening bars, in Emma's voice.]  
*Maika'i Waipi'o he alo lua na pali . . .*<sup>9</sup>

HISTORIAN. If he had only known . . .

CHANTER.

*Maika'i Waipi'o he alo lua na pali  
E po'ai a puni a hapa ma kai  
Pihoihoi i ka pi'ina o Koa'e-kea  
Pi'i no a ho'omau i Kaholokuaiwa.  
Ho'a'ia'i ka wai o Hi'ilawe i luna,  
Ua hele a ho'ohuelo i na pali.  
'O ke ki'o wai kapu ia o Ha'iwahine.  
He 'oia'io - 'oia paha e.  
E pa wai au a kepa kaua.*

*Lapa ka 'ohu o Maluopokahi  
Makaukau ka 'upena lawai'a a ke kupa  
E ho'ala lua ana a puni he i'a manu  
Hei ma ka 'akau, ulu mai ma ka hema,  
'Ohi hapuku ka makapehu o uka  
E ho'olale ana i ahi no ka i'a  
Me he ua i'a ho'omalu ala o Kaukini  
He 'oia'io, 'oia paha e.  
E pa wai au a e kepa kaua.*

*Maika'i Lili hemolele i ka la  
Lenalena ke oho o ke kukui nono i ka la,  
Ma'u ka 'awapuhi nolu i ka palai,  
Maopopo ka 'ike i na nani o Pi'iholo,  
'Ohi ka 'io o ko la'au o Makawao,  
He nani ia la he mohala ka pali o Kokomo.  
I hui'a mai a pau na Ha'iku  
He 'oia'io 'oia paha e.  
E pa wai au a e kepa kaua.*

HISTORIAN. On all sides of Waipi'o the cliffs face each other,  
The cliffs enfold Waipi'o with their whole beauty,  
Enclosing Waipi'o everywhere  
Except on that one side of Waipi'o turned to the water—  
Toward that other beauty,  
Another splendor,  
That gleams in from the open sea.  
The ascent to rugged Koa'e-kea is steep.  
The climb onward to Ka-holo-kuaiwa is steeper still.  
At the Hi'ilawe Falls a white cascade spills

Sparkling from above and over the cliff, dropping down  
Down into the pool of Ha'i—  
Ha'i, the woman there, Ha'i of the sacred pool.

This is the way it should be, wouldn't you say?  
For me a little water, please—then let us eat and eat well!

At Malu-o-pokahi the mists are mischievous.  
There the sons of this mountainous land make ready their nets,  
Stretch wide their fine-woven traps  
To catch the wild birds.  
On the right, on the left, the birds are cleverly ensnared,  
And all that noisy fluting tells you they are not any too happy  
about it.  
See, the uplanders are gathering them in, greedily, greedily!  
Someone says: "Let a fire be lighted now for roasting their meat—  
For savoring the small meat  
Of the delicate prisoners  
Captured in the shadow of Kaukini  
Where all now is silent."

This is the way it should be, wouldn't you say?  
For me a little water, please—then let us eat and eat well!

How inviting Lili looks, in the calm of the sunlight!<sup>10</sup>  
Beneath warm rays the leaves of the kukui turn to gold.  
Yet moist are the ginger stalks, sheltering the lacy fronds  
Of the cool forest ferns at their feet.  
Far in the offing Pi'iholo too is shining distantly,  
Visible in the all-surrounding light,  
The clear light of loveliness.  
Now the trees of Makawao grow sturdy and erect:  
Now their young bark thickens:  
Now the tall cliff of Kokomo,  
The broad cliff,  
The cliff of glowing Kokomo  
Enfolds, in a way of his own, all the quiet charms of Ha'ikul  
This too is the way it should be, wouldn't you say?  
For me a little water, please—then let all eat and eat well, again  
and again!

PETER. *But I sang "The Dearest Spot" in its place.*

FIRST HAWAIIAN LADY. [Sings in Emma's voice.]

*The dearest spot on earth to me is home, sweet home;  
The fairyland I long to see is home, sweet home.  
There how charm'd the sense of hearing,  
There where love is so endearing!  
All the world is not so cheering as home, sweet home!*<sup>11</sup>

HISTORIAN. Yet even when his songs were most hackneyed and haole and sentimental, Peter did not always lose his sense of humor completely.

PETER. *Last night I was looking at Oahu and the Sky over it was burning with the Setting Sun, and meditating on the Features which joy use to wear when in your Company, on looking again I discovered that Oahu had faded from view. Then I strained my poor eyes to catch again a glimpse of Sweet Home but I strained in vain, for it was completely lost in the dark, so I sang the air, "The dearest spot on Earth to me," when a man passed on Horseback and he too struck up a native song, and I could not help laughing at the impudent chap's mocking me. He, too, probably was endeavouring to avoid the anxieties that his poor aching heart was crying for, Home like myself.*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "'A'ole 'Ka Loke Hope o ke Kau' . . ."  
[*"Not 'The Last Rose of Summer' . . ."*]

HISTORIAN. Peter arrived on Molokai in early summer. But the first flowers he managed to bring to bloom at Kalaupapa were the roses of October.

PETER. *I send you my first flowers. Not 'The Last Rose of Summer' but the first Rose of my Winter here. There are eleven buds in all on the Bush, but these are the ones most likely to blossom first.*

FIRST HAWAIIAN LADY. [*Sings air in Emma's voice.*]

*'Tis the last rose of summer  
Left blooming alone;  
All her lovely companions  
Are faded and gone;  
No flower of her kindred,  
No rosebud is nigh,  
To reflect back her blushes  
Or give sigh for sigh.<sup>12</sup>*

HISTORIAN. He sent these Roses of his Winter in the "little Tin that the Butter came up in." Other flowers he mentions, in other letters, are of the old-fashioned sort with fragrant old-fashioned names . . . Balsam . . . "Merigold" . . . and a "Plant which I got from Mrs. Napela—she calls it Velvet." But no more is heard about the ghostly rosebush after the winter and rude weather of 1873-1874, and it is easy to guess why. It was a struggle to get any plant to grow upon the windy rocky slopes of lower Kalaupapa, looking down on the abandoned potato patches. And it was another struggle to spell "bougainvillea."

PETER. *The Vergumbilia is yet alive, but the leaves are dropping off. I have it watered 3 times a day. All the plants are on the makai side of my House so as to be sheltered from the force of the wind.*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. “. . . a me ku'u manu.”  
[“. . . and my birds.”]

PETER. *On my arrival one of my little birds died so I've only one left.*

HISTORIAN. First of July, 1873.

PETER. *This morning I lost my other little companion, the Dove, for it pined away for want of a mate and died.*

HISTORIAN. Fourth of July, 1873. For Peter Ka'eo his birds—and all his animals including John Puni and his little dog Spring—were his companions. He had with him and by him, on his stony acre, at various times, a milk cow, a pony, pigs, chickens, ducks, pigeons.

PETER. *My pijones have come safe. It was a mistake in the man saying that the Manuku [dove] was dead, it was one of the Ducks.*

HISTORIAN. Peter did not find it easy, in late July 1873, to part with some of the creatures who had arrived with him on the Kina'u.

PETER. *I have to eat up my little Pigs, my fowls are too poor, but I have to eat them.*

HISTORIAN. He had an exciting ride on John Puni the day he set out for home in the teeth of the big Kona wind. Not much of a day, though, for singing . . . and a terrible day for little birds.

PETER. *While I was at the store the wind was so strong that it lifted the boards from the ground, and tossed it about, and then threw it some distance to where it formerly laid. I also learned that 4 or 5 families had been made houseless during the night and moved into the schoolhouse. The wind, which blew through the Valley in puffs, though brief in duration, was frightful. After a puff a lull would set in and during the interval, which lasted for some time, the Natives would avail themselves of the chance to go back into the House and take out what they could carry to some place of security. I for one took advantage of the lull and mounting John Puni I rode Home, but I was overtook on the way. It blew so strong that I had to rein in my Horse to a walk, and sometimes the Horse would stand while I held my Hat with one hand, the reins with the other, and pressed the sides of my Horse with both legs in order to retain my seat. When a lull would set in I would raise myself from my stooping posture and start my Horse at a brisk pace. Thick folds of heavy black Clouds were blown over the Pali to the North at a terrible rate. It blew all that day and night.*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. “I kou pi'i 'iana i ka Pu'u o Kauhako  
[“When you climbed Kauhako Hill . . .”]



HISTORIAN. Kauhako was a volcanic hill right behind Peter's cottage. In its cone was a secluded crater, a natural amphitheatre, well wooded since olden days, within the center of which was a small brackish lake fed from interior springs and connecting somehow with the sea. Kamaainas said that the trees had been planted by the gods.

PETER. *I went up yesterday to look at the inside of Kauhako Hill. It is about 80 or 90 feet high and about the size of Punchbowl. Inside is hollow—Breadfrute, 'Ohia, Lehua, Kukui, and other trees grow in it.*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "He lua wai uliuli i kahuli a memele, a 'ula . . ."

["A salt brown pool turned to yellow and to red . . ."]

PETER. *In the center of this hole is another hole, quite circular in form and about 30 or 40 feet deep. Their are three collors to the Sea in this little lake. First is a kind of redish. Then it turned to light brown. When in this collar the Shrimps all die and nothing Alive is seen moving inside of the Sea. Thence from that collar to a lighter one. The Breadfrute and 'Ohia the Kamaainas says were planted by the 'Akuas.*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "He kane, a he wahine, a he keiki."

["And a man and a woman and a child."]

HISTORIAN. Kauhako was haunted all right. It was haunted by other Hawaiians who had come to explore, like Peter, the mysterious crater of Kauhako Hill.

PETER. *Yesterday, after I delivered my letter, I went with my man and boy on Horseback into Kauhako after Breadfrute, and also to look for young Trees. The young Trees we did not succeed in finding, but the fruit we helped ourselves to, although young and not ripe is very good eating. When cooked, the collar is brown, and not white as the collar of fruit generally are. We met some Natives their who had come up from the Beach to gather fruit to take Home, as they had no Poi, as only 500 Poi had been distributed last Week between 792, which was not enough to go around. Their were four in number of the Party, Father, Mother, Son and Daughter. The children are afflicted, but the Parents are well. They had made a fire and were cooking and eating the fruit. We gathered a bag full and then came home. On our way back, I stopped and looked at Kahoali's Cave . . .*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "I ka moku kuna i ku ai i waho, no ke aha 'oe i ani ai?"

["When the Schooner hung off shore why did you wave?"]

HISTORIAN. Well, why do people wave? Naturally, they wave when they cannot talk or write—when they see one another but must adopt some other language, such as that of gesture, to act out their story. And so it was with Peter.

PETER. *The Kilauea touched here yesterday to land Cattle. The Passengers were not allowed to land. I saw Kuihelani at a distance in a Canoe, but could not get near enough to him to converse and say a Verbal Aloha to you. I said Aloha to him with the wave of my Hand and he returned the Salutation by raising his Hat . . . as the Kilauea was rounding the point . . .*

HISTORIAN. So waving was one of Peter's strategies of Aloha, to overcome distance, separation from "Home, Sweet Home," and the constricted living-space hemming in the lepers of Kalaupapa. No wonder that Peter sprang up in his stirrups, rose in his saddle, flung up hat or hand almost automatically, at the sight of every passing vessel.

PETER. *As I was enjoying my usual afternoon ride Yesterday Eve, and inhaling the Sea breeze a large Vessel passed quite near, and as I was on a little Hill, I imagined that I could see Men on the Afterdeck, and I am quite sure that if any one looked at the direction where I was, that I could be seen, as I was dressed in White Trousers and frock. As the Vessel sailed on its course to Westward, I followed by land watching as she was plowing the Sea. I could not see Sweet Home, so following the Vessel with my Eyes I thought of Home, and of those dear to me, and you especially, surrounded by so many Wicked People, till the coming night made me seek my Cottage on the cliff. So on looking again for the Vessel, I saw it but a speck on the Ocean, so waving my Hat in the direction where Oahu is seen, and reciting the words Adieu, Adieu, my Native Land, I rode back, as it was then after Sunset. The Evening being nice and cool, I walked my Horse all the way, thinking still of you, and of Home, meditating on the past, and the future, till weary of my imaginations, I would sing, and was only checked by reaching Home.*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "No ka 'umeke a ku'u kupunawahine . . ."

["My grandmother's bowl . . ."]

HISTORIAN. Peter's home in Honolulu had been a cottage in Maunakea Street. His personal belongings, besides the few he brought with him to Kalaupapa, he left in Emma's keeping.

PETER. *I wrote to Aikoe in my letter to her to send me up a little calabash of Poi as the one I have here is too large for the use of one person. I think it must have been left behind.*

HISTORIAN. Probably Queen Emma or maybe Aikoe, who was one of Emma's retainers at Rooke House, sent to Peter several bowls of the sort he wanted, but the most important bowl he owned, and the one that Queen Emma thought Peter should keep near him, was his Grandmother's—a valuable family possession.

EMMA. [She has many voices. This one is both brisk and maternal.] *The kumau that goes up today—its name is Makahuna—belonged to our grandmother Kaoana'eha and is an heirloom and therefore valuable. This kumau is your own, for it came with the lot of things from the Maunakea Street yard where you lived.*

HISTORIAN. Kaleleonalani to "Ever dear Coz," December 16, 1875.

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "... *ku'u kama'a helu 'eiwa* ..."  
["... my shoes number nine ..."]

HISTORIAN. Peter was about six feet tall and wore size number eleven, preferably. Solely for metrical reasons, the Wreath supplies him with nines. Because of his distressing foot-condition, shoes became a perennial problem to Peter.

PETER. *I have received everything you had sent up safe and correct but the Cloth Shoes. They are too small being no. 8. I wrote for no. 11 as my Foot is Swolen, so I have sold the Shoes to Kumalae at \$1.50. The only Shoe I can wear is the rubber Shoes I got from Ragsdale, but they are only fit to wear at morning and evening, so I am afraid I have to impose on you again for another pair. Please Send up No. 11 this time. Their is no harm if they are too large.*

FIRST HAWAIIAN LADY. "... *I mea'ono no ku'u la hanau* ..."  
["... A cake for my birthday ..."]

HISTORIAN. Hardly a fortnight passed, never a month, without its gift from Queen Emma, in addition to necessities and ordinary staples. These ranged from blankets, quilts, *kihei*—perhaps a shawl—and tapa, to blocks of firewood, a patent medicine and the Honolulu weekly newspapers. Emma kept careful lists of such.

EMMA. [Like any woman talking to herself as she checks a list.]

5 *lbs bread*  
35 *potatoes*  
25 *hundredweight beef*  
*onions*  
4 *bundles of hay*  
*Newspaper Advertiser July 5th*  
2 *pumpkins*  
2 *poke ahi* [slices of tuna]  
*a bundle of squash seeds*

HISTORIAN. Anything in the way of a more special gift received special mention and acknowledgment. Cakes became frequent when one of Emma's boys, a retainer named Palale, got a job in Horn's Bakery.

EMMA. *The small fruit cake and 5 loaves of bread are sent you from my boy Palale.*

HISTORIAN. A sweet job evidently.

EMMA. *Palale sends the cake. He is in Horn's Bakery so brings me some of his make now and then.*

HISTORIAN. So Emma was the coordinator of the efforts of Peter's friends to keep him well supplied with choice, often seasonal, presents. (Of course most lepers of Kalaupapa could not afford these delicacies. Certainly none had such distinguished sources of supply as Peter's.) Joe Keaoa, in the old days the favorite coxswain of Kamehameha IV, and now elevated to the position of Keeper of the Royal Mausoleum, where he liked to garden in his spare time, sent up an offering of fresh cabbages, new onions, and "sugar canes." One of Emma's ladies-in-waiting, Sarah Weed, sent Peter a cake and a jar of guava jelly. But Mrs. Weed's specialty, which she taught to Peter, was egg custard. And Peter usually enclosed his appreciation.

PETER. *Thanks for the Cake and your Kou mau [never-ceasing] kindness.*

HISTORIAN. Sometimes Peter feasted on presents from Oahu, combined with treats of Molokai origin, such a "Lu'au, Limu, and Palu"—young taro tops cooked in various ways, edible seaweed, and a relish of fish parts. Here is a menu for the dog days of September, 1874.

PETER. *Mrs. Drew sent her mother up 10 Melons, and out of 10 she got 5 . . . I had quite a Feast by myself that afternoon. I got some sausages from Kahia, Salt Pork and Beef from Mrs. Napela, and my Lu'au, Limu and Palu all together was really a Feast—Melon as Desert, which comes in nicely for our hot days here.*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. *" . . . a i lei kekahi."*  
[*" . . . and a lei."*]

HISTORIAN. But no gift gave Peter greater pleasure than his leis. Mention of them begins to appear in Peter's letters in the summer of 1874.

PETER. *Kuakau'u stole one of my leis, all the rest I have received.*

HISTORIAN. The fresh leis continued to arrive, when they did not vanish in transit, throughout the summer. Then in December, when Christmas was approaching, a great gala event for Peter

and his Molokai friends was a succession of charming leis made of paper—made personally by Queen Emma herself, or if not by Emma, then by her ladies-in-waiting and retainers.

PETER. [Rapidly, almost breathless with excited delight.]

*Thanks, Thanks, for the Wreaths which you have sent up. You say that the White Wreath put in separately is the one which is your own making. Now, which one is that? The White one came in a Paper bundle, with a Pink one, another White one was in the Box with the Hat and coat. The Yellow one was one in the Hat. The one which you made yourself, I will wear on my Hat myself. I am wearing the White one that came in the Box, and I hope that is the one which you made. As my foot has healed faster than I thought it would, I left the Poulitice and am applying a black stuff which Dr. Trousseau gave me. So when the Warwick arrived, I rode to the Beach. When the Captain came ashore, we all noticed his Wreath around his Hat, and wondered what Flower it was. My Boy Luther came up to me and gave me a Paper bundle, saying, it was a Lei. When Ka'imimoku came to me with my letter, and I saw that it mentioned about the Wreath, I rode Home, and having put the White one on my Hat, I rode again to the Beach to show my Wreath. When I got to the Beach my Wreath attracted the Natives' attention, and Napela asked me about it. I informed him of the particulars, and gave the name as "Queen Emma." After I saw that my Tarrow was on the Cart, I rode Home. As soon as I reached Home, I opened the Box, which my Boy took up, and found that it contained two more Queen Emma's. So I had to refer to the letter, in order to make sure that the one which I will wear, will be the one which you made. So I am wearing them alternately, until I learn which is the one you made. My little Black Hat with the Yellow Queen Emma looked really pretty. I am quite delighted with it, but unfortunately under the Circumstances. Yesterday, I rode in to the Store, and bought some Horse Rope, Yest, Powder and Sugar, and while Thair, the Natives looked at my White Queen Emma which I wore on my Hat, and wondered what kind of Flower it could be, and asked me about it. I told them again giving the name of it as Queen Emma. Ragsdale, and several others, asked me for a Wreath, and I have given them my promise to send to Honolulu for more, so if you will send me up some more of your Name, I can give it to some of my friends. You can't sent me up too many, the more, the better, for I wish to give some to the Sick who I know are bragadocios, so therefor they will help me in obtaining my wish which is in spreading the name of the Queen Emma Lei. Says the Captain of the Warwick at the Beach: No ka nui o ka makemake o na Haole, a me na Kanaka i ka Mo'i Wahine Emma, nolaila, ua lei lakou i keia 'ano lei maluna o ko lakou Papale, a ua kapa 'ia ka inoa 'o ka lei o Queen Emma.*

HISTORIAN. "Because the haoles like Queen Emma so much, and so do the Hawaiians, therefore they wear them on their hats and call them Queen Emma's Lei."

PETER. *Now since I am the first one that is wearing it, it has attracted the Natives so much, that I will not at all be surprised to here that the Natives will send for it to come by the next Vessel. However, if any should come it is allready known as the Q.E.L!*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "... *He aha ka inoa o ka pua?*"  
["... What was its name?"]

HISTORIAN. Not only the Queen Emma Lei, but many of Peter's other belongings had their proper names as well. He settled finally on calling his Kalaupapa cottage "Honolulu House," or just plain "Honolulu," hoping to endow it with some of the Mana-of-Home he so much longed for. John Puni, of course, he associated with the pleasures of bachelor life and chums in Honolulu. His dog was sometimes just his little "Dogie," but finally became "Spring." His grandmother's bowl, the heirloom-calabash, was Makahuna—"Beloved-Hidden-Face." For Peter, inanimate as well as animate objects were creatures and had their names. And the dividing lines between the creatures with one another, or with human beings, were easily bridged by the rainbow magic of names.

PETER. *As soon as the first rain falls I will commence to plant my plants you sent me. I will then christen them after Your and Fanny's native names, Kaleleonalani and Kekelaokalani.*

HISTORIAN. Fanny was "Aunty"—Fanny Young Naea—"The-Glorious-Light-of-the-Heavenly-Chief"—Emma's mother: great-granddaughter of Keli'imaika'i, a younger brother of Kamehameha I. But names of ordinary small Hawaiian boys could be important and interesting as well as those of gods and conquering chiefs and noble chiefesses.

PETER. *Mrs. Napela have given one of her nephews a Native name, after your Wreath—Leimokihana—and he is quite proud of the name, so he writes his Aunt saying it is a pretty name, signing "George Leimokihana Richardson."*

HISTORIAN. Mokihana . . . "*Pelea anisata*, found only on Kauai, belonging to the citrus family. The small leathery, cube-shaped, anise-scented fruits, which change from green to brown, are strung in leis, and they represent Kauai in the leis of the islands. The large oblong leaves are also fragrant." *The Hawaiian-English Dictionary* . . . [Continuing almost without pause.]

The stringing and winding,<sup>13</sup>  
The keeping and carrying,  
The presenting and arranging,

The seeing and saying,  
The naming and praising,  
Attend now and hear—

I chant my praise to my Queen.

May you hearken, O Queen, to your Lei Chant!

The lei carrier comes from Mokau-lele,  
The bundle from 'Ohi'a-ka-lani,  
The basket from Kania-hiku.

Puna and Hilo are made seven times more beautiful  
To look upon, when bedecked with the finest leis of Waiakea.

Bring these leis and present them to the Eyes-of-Ku,<sup>14</sup>  
To Queen Kau-maka,  
Who now stands forth  
Amidst their fresh radiance.  
Behold the Queen!

These leis you see belong to her.  
These leis you hear belong to her.

She whose leis these are takes them,  
Takes them to crown her head,  
To hang gracefully round her neck,  
To fall from her shoulders.  
Kolo-pulepule strung them for her.  
Wailuku bore them to her.  
These leis are to be remembered,  
The visible cloud of her memory ascending,  
The wreath of our recollection and affection rising,  
As the lei of the shadow falls—

May the Queen long so live!

The keeper of the leis is Wai-anuenue,  
The presenter of the leis is Wailoa,  
The arranger of the leis, Waiakea,  
The winder of the maile strands is Hina,  
The one holding the pegs for the bundles, Maui.

Kekele-a'a-Iku asks:

Who is the Chiefess these leis are to praise?  
What brought so many givers of garlands here,  
All to forgather in her praise?

None other than the Queen most worthy of honor,  
The adored Chiefess now so adorned!

A Lei for Queen Emma.



CHANTER. *E hea aku no au ia Kalani*

*E o mai 'oe i ko inoa lei,  
He kakua no ka lei i Mokaulele  
He pewa no ka lei o 'Ohi'akalani  
He kihene lei a Kaniahiku.  
He ahiku ka nani o Puna me Hilo  
He kilohana lei o Waiakea.  
Lawea ka lei a kau i ka maka o Ku  
Ku mai 'o Kalani Kaumaka  
Ke ali'i nona ka lei.  
O papahi i ka lei i ke po'o  
O ho'onu'anu'a ka lei i ka 'a'i  
Ke kui lei o Kolopulepule  
He amo lei o Wailuku.  
'O ke ola e—  
'O kahua o ka lei o Waianuenue,  
'O ka he'e o ka lei ka ia Wai-loa,  
'O ka ho'onoho o ka lei ia Wai-akea,  
'O ka wili o ka maille ka ia Hina,  
'O ka pa'a o ka 'omou ka ia Maui.  
Ninai mai 'o Kekeleaiuku:  
'O wai ke ali'i nona ka lei,  
'O wai ho'i kau o Kalani ka manomano  
'O ke ali'i nona ka lei?*

*He lei no Emalani.*

*Intermission*

## PART TWO: TORCHES IN A CLOUD

HISTORIAN. The first was the light strand—this one is darker.

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "No ke aha kou ha'aheo?"

["What made you so proud?"]

HISTORIAN. *The garland, the wreath, the symbol of affection, the special song . . .*

CHANTER. [Interrupting the mild scholar.] *Ho'olei!*<sup>15</sup>

HISTORIAN. [Catching the spirit.] *To cast, throw, toss, pitch . . .*

CHANTER. *Ho'olei wale!*

HISTORIAN. *To throw away heedlessly, wastefully, uselessly . . .*

CHANTER. *Ua ho'olei mai me ko lakou waha!*

HISTORIAN. *They belch out with their mouths!*

CHANTER. *Ho'olei loa!*

HISTORIAN. *To throw completely away . . . to throw far! . . . If a lei can be said to be related to florid public tribute to a royal*

personage, then here is a lei for Queen Emma—really not a pretty one—composed by her followers—the “Queenites”—at the time of the election of David Kalakaua as King of Hawaii. Perhaps Peter did not know this particular Chant of Resentment, but he shared—no man more staunchly—its loyal bitter sentiments on the side of his cousin, the descendant of Keli'i-maika'i. [*Chant begins in whisper, mounts in intensity, ends on note of grave eloquence.*]

This is a Lei Chant for Emma,  
But the Lei this time is the Wreath of Rebellion!

There has been much talk of late,  
A fat lei of false tribute strewn about you, Queen Emma,  
A wreath of fine talk, but springing from lips  
That have proved heartless:  
And many of these lips are the lips of Haoles—  
The most heartless lips of all!

Look, here come these heartless ones, heading for silver-lined  
Pu'uloa!<sup>161</sup>

Out in a heap they fling  
Their leis of crooked nails,  
Their moldy garlands of cheap jack-knives,  
Out rolls their clutter of old cast iron,  
Of bargains in broken bottles!  
Hear the thin-lipped ones come chanting: “Shares and coupons  
to be—  
In a fortune of rusty pump-handles!”

Look, here come the ungrateful ones!  
The scavenger birds that pick over Arcadia's junkyard—  
The movers and shakers of many mountains  
And dust piles on all Oahu!  
Some peck away at the municipal garbage bins,  
Others come begging for the government jobs  
Of Kalakaua Rex—  
Our old friend Taffy, the ex-  
Postmaster!

Just to think that among this flock of mound-perching plovers  
There are some who were treated kindly by that gracious Royal  
Heart  
Your Illustrious Husband!

But your pride is nevertheless justified.  
Your name—Emma—is famous everywhere.

In this world there are two women of true greatness—  
Queen Victoria of London, Ruler of Imperial Britain,  
And Queen Emma of Hawaii:

Both deserve their diadems!  
Both are full worthy of their crowns!

This ends my chant  
In praise of Kaleleonalani.

CHANTER. *He lei keia no Ema*

*Ko lei kaulana i ke kipi.  
Ua kau ko lei i ka waha,  
I ka lehelehe o ka loko 'ino.  
Kueka'a pau 'ia mai  
Na kui, na 'oi o loko.  
'O ke kolea kau ahua,  
Noinoi 'oihana aupuni.  
O ka hana loko maika'i ia  
E ka na'au lani ha'aha'a.  
Ua pono 'oe ke lino a'e  
Ua lohe na kupa o Kahiki.  
'Elua 'oi o ke ao nei  
'O Wikolia ko Lakana,  
'O Kuini Ema ko Hawaii  
Kohukohu i ka lei kalaunu.  
Ha'ina 'ia mai ka puana  
Kaleleonalani he inoa.*

HISTORIAN. And here, in another letter to Emma, is a lei of Peter's own weaving, in public prose. Not for nothing was Peter a member of the House of Nobles in the Hawaiian Legislature.

PETER. *If any King of Hawaii nei ever tried to repopulate his country, that King was your Enlightened and Illustrious Husband . . . Your two Illustrious Names are written upon the Sand of Time, and never to be obliterated so long as Hawaii Nei is a Nation!*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. *"E lei no a ho'omoe 'ia au me ku'u 'a'ahu kupapa'u."*

*[" . . . when I'm wrapped in my shroud."]*

HISTORIAN. The word "shroud," to tell the truth, is a literary touch—Peter never mentions that gloomy medieval contraption by name. But Father Damien, who was Peter's friend, and who understood about all these matters, saw to it that the poorest lepers were buried in their blankets if in nothing much else. "The average of deaths," Damien reported from Molokai to Brother Pamphile in France, "is about one every day. Many are so destitute that there is nothing to defray their burial expenses. They are simply wrapped in a blanket. As far as my duties allow me time, I make coffins for these people."

Speaking of death, Peter was an unusually lucky man. He did not die at Kalaupapa, as one might reasonably imagine, but in Honolulu in 1880, having been allowed to leave the Settlement in 1876 and return to Honolulu and Home, Sweet Home as a burnt-out case. In fact, Peter re-assumed his old seat in the House of Nobles for the Legislative Session of 1878, in which he introduced a motion that a group photograph be taken of members of both Chambers. His progressive proposal, an innovation at that time, was roundly defeated. Too bad, Peter . . .

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "*I ke keiki e make pololi ana . . .*"  
["When that boy lay a-starving . . ."]

HISTORIAN. In November-December, 1873, and on into 1874, there was a growing poi shortage at Kalaupapa—so serious and sad, in its effects, that it almost resulted in an insurrection. Though probably no one starved from lack of food of a sort—salt pork, for example, or dried salmon—many lepers suffered psychological distress at the time of this emergency, for complex emotional reasons. The lack of poi became for them a symbol of their tragedy—the loss of home, affection, the easy intake and output of childhood, good times, freedom, friendly loving and community—getting and giving what one wanted, inside and outside and all round. But the deprivation of this basic item of the old Hawaiian diet became in the end a burning political issue as well, not merely a cause of psychosomatic stress and regression. In many individual cases, of course, the wasting effects of mortal disease would have rendered the most hygienic of menus, the best measures of mental health, useless. Peter did not know this exactly. But he had a curiosity about the physical conditions of patients, and as usual he wrote down some of his observations, not omitting his acute feelings about these cases.

PETER. *Last Monday I rode in to the Store and bought some Castile Soap. While there Williamson the Purveyor of the Hospital asked me to go over with him to look at a man that he has been expecting to die these Five Weeks past. He Williamson had had three coffins made for him, two of which Williamson has sold, and their is one waiting for him to be put in. I consented and we went in to one of the Wards. Their on a couch lay a figure of what was once a man. No power of description which I possess can convey any correct Idea of his appearance. Their he lay. His face was one mass of swollen flesh, his body was reduced to a mere skeleton with no signs of life unless closely watched. When I observed that his covering moved just at his middle, I did not neither could I remain in their longer. I asked Williamson how his appetite was before he was so week. He replied that if he did eat he would eat a great deal, but since Poi has been scarce, he has fallen to what I saw their before me . . . 5 P.M.—I have*

*just returned from my ride. While out by the Hospital Williamson called me and informed me that the Boy who he and I looked at was just dead, and it was a curiosity to see it. So Williamson say . . .*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "*. . . aia na'e ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i na maka . . .*"  
[*. . . and a look in his eyes . . .*"]

HISTORIAN. The Lei combines, concentrates, and transmutes a number of separate episodes—as thus, Peter's meeting with his friend Ka'awa.

PETER. *I have only seen Ka'awa once, but he hid his face. For all that, I saw he was swollen about the face and his hiding his face was another evidence.*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "*. . . I ke kolo 'ana a ka ilo . . .*"  
[*. . . . When the Worm came crawling . . .*"]

FIRST HAWAIIAN LADY. Did you say a worm?

HISTORIAN. Yes, a Worm—maybe more. The phenomenon is common, the condition prevalent, among tribal people in climates friendly to parasites. The Wreath intertwines two separate episodes. The morbid worm figures in the plural in the death of a certain *kahuna*—a kind of prophet and witch doctor—in whom Peter was much interested for political reasons.

PETER. *A kahuna by the name of Kalamaia died last week, and while the worms were crawling out from his right arm and he was dying, he said faintly, "Aole au e ola . . ."*[*"I am dying . . ."*]

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. "*. . . Na lama ma kona mau 'ao'ao aku . . .*"  
[*. . . Some torches on each side . . .*"]

HISTORIAN. While Lunalilo lay dying, and then more frequently after the election of King Kalakaua, Peter sometimes consulted a remarkable leper of Molokai, a prophetess, or *haka*, named Paniku Hua. A woman of strange visionary powers, whose archaic garb and compelling manner of speech might indeed have persuaded an onlooker that she fancied herself to be the great Queen Ka'ahumanu, Hua at first struck Peter as a bit ridiculous. He was more amused than impressed the first time he heard about the *haka*.

PETER. *When she is relating these stories to the natives she is dressed in Silk with a yellow "Lei Hulu" [feather lei] on her Head, and a Lei Palaoa [with a walrus tusk or whale's tooth] around her neck, and she wears a "Pa'u" [skirt] of native Kapa around her middle, such as were worn by native Chieftesses of yore, in order to make herself look Kohu [authentic]. Thus, showing what in-*

*fluence Superstition has over her, and fools the listeners are to believe her, but all these little things quite please me. When I am listening to Napela as he relates this story to me, I put on a Sober face, in order to make him believe that I appreciate him, so all passes off O.K. I pen these lines to you thinking it might interest you and also to let you know what is going on here. I am shure you do not believe that I believe in such nonsense so on this I must rest.*

**HISTORIAN.** After the death of Lunalilo and the accession of David Kalakaua to the throne in February, 1874, Peter began to speak of Paniku Hua with growing respect. In one of her trances, Hua prophesied that in due time—and that day was now drawing near—Emma Kaleleonalani would ascend to the Hawaiian throne. That Kalakaua was the present ruler was in fact a most excellent sign of Emma's approaching succession. For the right to burn torches in daylight—a right conferred by the Burning Fire Kapu—augured the succession of a new monarch, when the claimant to the throne was entitled to this sacred kapu. Kalakaua possessed the kapu and he had succeeded to the throne. But now, according to Hua, and Peter enthusiastically agreed, Taffy had not been worthy of his honor. Now it was Queen Emma's turn to invoke the Kapu of the Burning Torches.

**PETER.** *I then asked Hua if their were any hopes of your being our Queen. She replied:*

**PANIKU HUA.** *'O ka ho'ailona i noho ali'i ai, a noho ali'i a'e nei keia Kalakaua, eia no ke 'ike nei au, ma mua o ka make 'ana o Lunalilo, ua 'ike au ia Kalakaua e hele ana i loko o ke ahi kukui e a 'a ana ma 'o a ma 'ane'i o Kalakaua, a e hele ana 'o Kalakaua i waena, i keia wa ua huli ka waha o kona ipu i lalo, a 'o ka honua, ua hamama, e like no me ka hamama 'ana o ka honua ia Lunalilo, a ma hope mai ia make.*

*A ke 'ike nei au ia Emma i keia wa, ke hele nei i waena ona kukui he nui loa, a he ulu kou, ma waho o ke kukui lamalama e 'a ana, a ina ua komo pu o Kalakaua ma 'i loko o ke kolohe 'ana ia Lunalilo, e papapau ana lakou i ka make.*

**HISTORIAN.** "That Kalakaua is now King is the sign of her future reign. I now am seeing again what I saw at the time just before Lunalilo died: I saw, and see again, Kalakaua moving with burning torches on each side of him. He goes between. But now the mouth of his calabash is turned down! The earth lies open just as it opened for Lunalilo at his time of death. Now I can see that it is Emma who moves among the many burning torches! Because Kalakaua and these persons surrounding him worked their wicked magic to bring about the death of Lunalilo, now all these too shall perish!"

CHANTER. 'A'ohe nani nana e hele  
Ko kapu ahi wela kulukuloku,  
'O Emalani i ke kapu 'ihiihilani  
Hea aku makou o mai 'oe  
'O Kaleleonalani kou inoa.<sup>17</sup>

HISTORIAN. "None dares to tread upon the intense fire of your kapu! No beauty can withstand this kapu of yours that burns!" . . . Peter's last recorded meeting with the *haka* took place only two or three days before Christmas of the year 1875.

PETER. *On last Saturday the 19th at Evening, as I was watching the Melie Morris leave . . . as the Sea is still boisterous, I happen to look up to the Clouds and saw that a black Cloud had formed itself into the form of a Coffin. In the evening I went over to Napela's and informed him of it. On the following Monday the 21st as the afternoon was mild and pleasant, Mrs. Napela and I rode to the beach and called at Hua's. After we had conversed on various subjects, Hua looked up to me, as I was still on my Horse, and remarked, "Pehea 'oe?" [How are you?] I replied that I was well but that my Foot was sore, and that necessitated my being unable to dismount. Her Eyes were still on me, and she again replied:*

PANIKU HUA. *E nana mai 'oe ia kakou,  
E no'ono'o mai 'oe  
Eia ka 'aina  
Eia ka maka'ainana.  
Ua kokoke mai ka manawa a'u i 'olelo ai no 'olua.  
A eia ka wa ou i no'ono'o ai, 'oi ka'awale a'e,  
'A'ohe manawa i koe ke ho'omaka aku nei ka helelei 'ana a kela po'e  
E noho malie 'oe i keia wa, 'a'ohe le'ale'a, 'a'ohe lalau,  
E no'ono'o 'oe, a e nana i ke kanaka e like me ko kuahine.*

HISTORIAN. "Look to our welfare!  
Think upon it.  
Here is the land—  
Here are the people.  
The fulfillment of the prophecy which I have revealed  
to the two of you is now drawing near.  
This is the time to think about it, while it is  
still in the future.  
But there is no time to lose, while our enemies  
are dropping away.  
Lead a quiet worthy life, take no part in pleasures,  
do no wrong deed.  
Show forethought—care for your people as your cousin did."



PETER. *After she had spoken, I informed her of what I had seen in the Clouds on Saturday Evening. She replied that this was shown, in order to confirm me of what she had predicted heretofore. When we were leaving, she bade me Hoomana [to continue praying] to which I replied Ae. After I reached Home, I could not help thinking of what she told me. Her looks and the manner she spoke, slow and clear, and so sidate that I could not help ponder over it long after I had retired for the night.*

HISTORIAN. Now what in the wide world did the good Queen Emma make of all these goings-on of Peter's with the kahunas of Molokai? To speak the truth, Queen Emma deplored all such pagan practices. Paniku Hua she regarded with particular scorn.

EMMA. *It is not only stupid of Hua, to say the least, dealing out such false nonsense, but positively wicked because telling untruths leads astray the minds and thoughts of those around . . . astray from that God who has their existence in His pleasure!*

HISTORIAN. Yet it is also true that Emma herself, after the election of Kalakaua, became for a while a great gatherer of omens and prophecies. Like a housekeeper with an old pitcher for keeping odd buttons or coins, Emma began to assemble and sort out all kinds of traditional lore, some of it esoteric and some of it commonplace and hardly better than gossip, telling how she, Kaleleonalani, should in due course of time supplant David Kalakaua as ruler of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Much more than her Dearest Coz, Emma set about learning all she could discover about her Hawaiian ancestry, her people's history, ordeals, and achievements. She even tried now and then, but without much luck, to get Peter to join her in this absorbing enterprise. Maybe she thought he needed on Molokai some such form of innocent occupational therapy!

EMMA. *The place must abound in legends and tales, as do all our Islands, so please write them down, in both languages—first the native.*

HISTORIAN. And she also tried to impress upon Peter how important it was—and how much it was his responsibility as an *ali'i*—to cherish and recite the old songs and native poetry. Even wrangling the ins-and-outs of somebody's complicated family connections, and disputing the scrambled claims to this or that kapu, could sharpen the wits and breathe life, through a spirit of rivalry, into the old Hawaiian lore.

EMMA. *All these oppositions are good for us. It should make you and I search our ancestral claims, and whilst so doing become acquainted with ancient songs, their origin, object, composers, effects—also the history of different events and ceremonies—why*

*one should be and others not—for that is the way our Island history has been preserved—entirely oral.*

HISTORIAN. So Queen Emma's eagerness to hear all the going predictions, to compare this old wife's tale with the next, was part of her wisdom. She knew that a puzzle arises, if not an unsolvable mystery, as soon as the known seeks the unknown. But she also knew (and her faith confirmed her in this) that an even greater mystery dwells in the very heart of the labyrinth: in the maze of ancestral memory where forgotten tongues find their ancient voices and the Unknown again seeks the known. Emma would have understood well enough what that Maori diviner was saying when, seeking the grounds of a sickness, he pursued the relentless images:

CHANTER. *A seeking, a searching,  
To seek whither?  
To search the land, to seek the origin,  
To seek the base, to search the unknown,  
To seek out the akua—the spirit!  
May our search prove prosperous!*<sup>18</sup>

HISTORIAN. But who really knows—or rather who is there today who can say?—what ghostly voices spoke from the mouth of Kahoali'i's Cave? True, we may think—but this only means we are free to believe—that the two shadowy visitants who once upon a time guarded over Nalani'elua were angelic presences and therefore, in a sense, substantial. Here we would vouch for only one lesson to be learned from our veracious story of Peter Ka'eo:

*Back out of all this now too much for us,  
Back in a time made simple by the loss  
Of detail, burned, dissolved, and broken off  
Like graveyard sculpture in the weather,  
There is a house that is no more a house . . .  
This was no playhouse but a house in earnest.*<sup>19</sup>

On January 17, 1881, in that simpler time, Emma wrote to an old haole teacher and friend, an English lady who had first taught her about King Alfred and the Anglo-Saxons, given her lessons in French (out of the *Fables of La Fontaine*) and read to her from the Book of Common Prayer.

EMMA. *Thanks so very much for your kind letter . . . received when I was again entered into mourning for my dear Cousin Peter Kekuaokalani. I ought to have answered it before this but really have not had the courage to speak or write of the sorrowful events which have come to us. Not quite three months had passed after my dear Mother was so suddenly taken from me, when the*

*Cousin who had always been as a brother to me also passed, after only five days illness, to the unseen world which now holds all that is dearest..*

*The loneliness of those left behind came over me once more—pressed upon me as I seemed to feel well nigh overcome by the near presence of child and husband floating near to comfort me.*

*I went off to Kauai shortly after with my sister-in-law, who has been very kind throughout, for two weeks rest, returning for the Christmas season.*

SECOND HAWAIIAN LADY. “. . . A e po'ai ana ka uahi o lakou i ka lewa.”

[“. . . And the Wreaths of their smoke in the air.”]

HISTORIAN. Everyone who has lived in Hawaii has seen burning torches. Everyone has watched their smoke, whether in daylight or at nighttime. But this familiar spectacle has no counterpart in the letters of Peter Ka'eo. These Wreaths are not Peter's. Neither are they the flaring visions of Paniku Hua. They are largely Emma's, or anybody else's—stereotyped emblems, left over from long-forgotten holidays.

Yet their mild light burns in its own fantastic kapu like an approaching cloud: a pillar of fiery waters, a tide of searing vapors, seen from afar. In early summer, Kaleleonalani had been on an outing to Hanauma Bay. Native-style, accompanied by a single lady-in-waiting and a ten-year-old boy, she encamped on a parcel of stony beachland where Oahu's leeward frontage, beneath the glaring Pacific sun, looks out upon the visible silhouette of Molokai. Like some Genius of the Hawaiian shore, Queen Emma spent many hours searching wave, rock, cloud, and the segment beyond them of the world's vast horizon. Later, in autumn, she passed whole days at a time at the King's cottage in Waikiki, visiting, consoling, amusing the dying Lunalilo. On September 26, 1873, she wrote to Peter on Molokai:

EMMA. *A love of nature and animals shows an elevated nature that appreciates beauty in everything God has made, the dashing waves, rosy pink clouds, black majestic mountains and rocks, all inspire us with the immensity of power that is possessed by the one God who has made all of them, even the little troublesome flea, giving it laws to live by . . . and so on through all the minute atoms of life and lifeless things that make up this world of ours.*

*Did it ever occur to you with feelings of sorrow—it has to me often—that these beautiful Islands, valleys, high mountains, fragrant ferns, wild flowers, spots where far calm lovely views lie before the eye—as at Pupukeo, Kona, Kalaieha, Maunakea—*

*glittering starry gems at night in the firmament above—with the lustrous full moon—numbers of places and things—will all curl up like paper on fire, for, as Holy writ tells us, a new earth and new heaven will be given?*

*This southerly wind often wafts my thoughts and imagination to weaving and traveling lands of my own making, and peopling many of them—strange and pleasant—*

*But dear me how I have rambled quite away from my original subject—David and Ka'awa—each a ball ricocheting over the water.*

*I kiss your hand—please forgive the diversion!*

CHANTER. *Ha'ina 'ia mai ka puana  
Kaleleonalani he inoa.<sup>20</sup>*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY AND NOTES

Most of the manuscript materials on which *Peter Ka'eo's Wreath* is based, including all quotations from the letters of Peter Ka'eo and Queen Emma, are part of the Queen Emma Collection at the Archives of Hawaii. I plan to publish eventually an annotated edition of the complete Ka'eo-Emma correspondence. An account of certain of Peter's letters has already appeared in print; see Alfons L. Korn and Mary Kawena Pukui, "News from Molokai: The Letters of Peter Young Ka'eo (Kekuaokalani) to Queen Emma," *Pacific Historical Review* (February, 1963).

I should like to thank Miss Agnes Conrad, Archivist, and the staff of the Archives of Hawaii for much assistance during the ten years I have worked (only too intermittently) on the Queen Emma Collection. I am also indebted to Miss Jane Silverman, of the Library of Hawaii; to the staff, both present and past, of the Hawaiian Historical Society and Mission Children's Library; to Miss Margaret Titcomb, Librarian, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum; to Miss Joyce Wright, the East-West Center Library; to Miss Janet Bell, the Gregg M. Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii.

I am especially grateful to Don E. Johnson and Donald D. Mitchell for their assistance in regularizing the printing of certain Hawaiian words.

The portrait of Peter Ka'eo, here published for the first time, is from the Bishop Museum photographic collections. The origin of the photograph is unknown. Presumably it represents Peter as he looked in his late twenties or very early thirties.

<sup>1</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian-English Dictionary* (Honolulu: 1957). Extended quotations from books, and also from manuscript sources, are printed in *italic*.

<sup>2</sup> Used in certain legal notices in Honolulu newspapers, meaning "also known as," "otherwise," "alias," etc.

<sup>3</sup> See Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors: An Account of the Hawaiian Kingdom, 1861-1866, Including the Journal Letters of Sophia Cracroft, Extracts from the Journals of Lady Franklin, and Diaries and Letters of Queen Emma of Hawaii* (Honolulu: 1958).

<sup>4</sup> The Hawaiian version of "The Ballad of Molokai" has been supplied by Mrs. Pukui.

<sup>5</sup> The bracketed translation is for the convenience of the reader and need not be spoken in the performance.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Mrs. Richard L. Summers, Honolulu, for the following interesting note on Kahoali'i's Cave;

"Cave said to run from sea to Kahako [sic] crater. There is an opening at sea, also at Kahako crater. Simona says a white man went part way through it from Kahako towards sea. Tradition in regard to this cave is that a lot of war canoes from Hawaii were coasting along the shore and when passing the mouth of the cave at sea saw two old women sitting in cave. Hawaii men built a fire over the cave on the flat above and put water in so that it caved in. The cave was at the time filled with the people of Kalaupapa and Kalawao who were hiding from the Hawaii men. After making a hole into the cave the Hawaii men entered and killed all the people in the cave." (Monsarrat: "Diary of Molokai Survey," 1894, in possession of State Survey Department).

<sup>7</sup> Kalikookalani was Emma's great-grandmother. In general, the allusive names in the chant refer to Emma's royal, priestly, and divine ancestry.

<sup>8</sup> The English version of the chant at this point is a free elaboration on the Hawaiian original. The allusion to "The Flight of the Chief" is a reference to the name given to Queen Emma—"Kaleleokalani"—by Kamehameha IV in 1862, after the death of their little son, the Prince of Hawaii. The allusion to the "Two Who Fleed" is a reference to the name "Nalanielua" ("The-Two-Heavenly-Chiefs"), sometimes used by Emma after the death of both husband and son.

<sup>9</sup> Parts of the opening of the chant were set to vocal music by Princess Likelike. The song has been published in *Johnny Noble's Royal Collection of Hawaiian Songs* (1929).

<sup>10</sup> In this section of the chant the geographical names, along with the complimentary epithets suggesting the beauty of the scenes (and perhaps persons identified with the scenes), shift from the opening description of Waipio Valley on Hawaii to the other Waipio on Maui.

<sup>11</sup> W. T. Wrighton's "The Dearest Spot on Earth" has been republished recently in George Godwin, *Song Dex Treasury of Humorous and Nostalgic Songs* (New York: 1956).

<sup>12</sup> Tom Moore's famous lyric, "'Tis the Last Rose of Summer," has appeared in hundreds of songbooks. A recent one is Margaret Boni, *The Fireside Book of Love Songs* (New York: 1957).

<sup>13</sup> The next few lines (down to "Attend now and hear") have been supplied for the performance and are no part of the chant itself.

<sup>14</sup> A name for Queen Emma linking her with the God Ku; specifically, with one of the god's eyes (Ka-lani-kau-maka).

<sup>15</sup> Further "definition" echoing the *Hawaiian-English Dictionary*.

<sup>16</sup> Pu'uloa is Pearl Harbor. The satiric chant has been expanded and freely adapted, with obvious topical allusions, in the translated version.

<sup>17</sup> From the Name Chant for Queen Emma ("He inoa no Kaleleokalani") in Part One, "Definition of a Lei."

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in R. Godfrey Lienhardt, "Religion," in *Man, Culture, and Society*, ed. Harry L. Shapiro (New York: 1956), p. 328. The wording of the charm has been slightly modified in the version given here in translation.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Frost, *Directive*.

<sup>20</sup> From the Lei of the Rebel ("Lei o ke Kipi") earlier in Part Two. The Chanter's words must here be left untranslated, closing the entire performance with the traditional Hawaiian formulary.

## MINUTES OF THE 73RD ANNUAL MEETING

January 28, 1965

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at Jefferson Hall, East-West Center, Edward Joesting, President, presiding.

The minutes of the previous meeting were approved as printed. The treasurer, Jon Wiig, presented a summary of the Treasurer's Report. Mrs. Kay Boyum, librarian, reported briefly on the work performed in the library and made a plea for volunteers to help. The President read his annual report, which is attached.

The Nominating Committee chairman, Agnes Conrad, presented the committee report and presided during the election.

For President: Mr. Edward Joesting

For Trustees for 4 years: Janet Bell  
John H. R. Plews

There being no other nominations, the nominations were closed and the secretary directed to cast a unanimous ballot. Mr. Joesting then resumed as presiding officer.

The meeting was turned over to Mr. Kaupena Wong, program chairman, who introduced the speaker, Mr. Charles Kenn on "A Visit to California in 1858 by the Rev. Lowell Smith."

Refreshments were served after the program.

Respectfully submitted,

AGNES C. CONRAD

*Recording Secretary*

## MEETING OF MAY 25, 1964

Meeting was held at MacNeil Auditorium, Punahou School for the purpose of presenting a play in Hawaiian and English by Jean Charlot. Titled "Laukiamanui kahiki" (Snare-that-lures-a-farflung-bird). It had an all Hawaiian cast.

The society received \$105 in donations to help defray the cost of the play.

Attendance was approximately 350 people.

Awards of the essay contest for high school seniors were presented by President Edward Joesting and Jane Silverman, chairman of the essay contest.



First prize winner: Larry Kimura of Kamehameha School for Boys  
\$50 for "Parker Ranch Cowboys."

Other winners: Dominick La Rocco, Castle High School, \$25 for  
"Drama in Hawaii", Christine Hada, Kauai High School, \$25  
for "Made In Japan." Cynthia Taba, Kauai High School, \$25  
for "I Choose This Land."

Honorable mention: Rosalind N. H. Lum of Punahou School for  
"The Career of Boki." Wilma Loo of Castle High School for  
"An Alii's Day in Ancient Hawaii."

Respectfully submitted,

AGNES C. CONRAD

*Recording Secretary*

## MEETING OF OCTOBER 29, 1964

The Hawaiian Historical Society held a general membership meeting in the Asian Room, East-West Center, University of Hawaii, on October 29, 1964. Mr. Edward Joesting, President, presided.

Dr. Jacob Adler, University of Hawaii, spoke on "The Kaimiloa." A display of photographs of the "Kaimiloa" was prepared by the State Archives.

Refreshments were served following the meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

AGNES C. CONRAD

*Recording Secretary*

## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE MEMBERS OF

THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

It is with pleasure that I present the report of the President of the Hawaiian Historical Society, which covers the activities of the seventy-third year of the Society.

### Programs

Three programs were held during 1964. At the annual meeting in January the membership heard a talk by Mr. Richard Dunlap, Director of State Parks, on the subject of "Government in History in Hawaii." In May the Society somewhat broke with tradition and presented a bi-lingual play, in Hawaiian and English, written by Jean Charlot. The play was presented at MacNeil auditorium on the Punahou school campus and the response to the initial performance was so great that a second performance, sponsored again by the Society, was presented before a full house at the same location on June 29. At each performance a calabash offering was taken and the funds so collected slightly exceeded our costs. In late October a membership meeting was held in the Asia room at the East-West Center and our speaker was Dr. Jacob Adler, who presented a paper titled, "His Hawaiian Majesty's Warship, Kaimiloa."

### Membership

As of the end of the year the membership of the Society stood at 585. In the course of the year several new life memberships were received. In late December of 1964 a campaign for new members was undertaken, using the Reverend William Ellis' book, "Journal of William Ellis," as a special gift for those persons who would subscribe to a special fifteen dollar membership or to any category above. We have received some new members as a result of this campaign, but it is still too early to arrive at any final figure.

### Finances

During 1964 a basic change was made in the handling of our finances. Because the finances of the Society are somewhat complex it was decided that it would be best if the keeping of accounts and the paying of bills were placed in the hands of a trust company, which would give us continuity over a long period of time. Previous to this, we have had a new treasurer every year or every two years and the burden on that person has been great.

So in July the Trustees voted to retain Cooke Trust Company to keep the accounts of the Society. Cooke Trust Company now automatically pays all regular bills and our Treasurer approves all special bills. Cooke Trust renders a monthly accounting to the Society. The efficiency of this system has proven most satisfactory to date.

The finances of the Society remain in fairly good shape. By this I mean that we ended the year in the black and in about the same cash position as at the end of 1963. The largest portion of the Society's income is derived from membership dues and, being well aware of this, we have undertaken a new membership campaign as mentioned earlier.

In December the Trustees were pleased to receive a \$500 grant from the Wilcox Foundation. This sum was used to help defray the cost of producing our annual publication.

### **Personnel**

In August Lavern Chambers resigned as the Society's only full time employee and in late September we were most fortunate in securing the services of Kay Boyum to serve in the capacity of librarian-secretary. Mrs. Boyum has previously been active in both the Kauai and Maui historical societies and has taught Hawaiian history at Maunaolu College on Maui.

### **Essay Contest**

Nineteen sixty-four was the fourth year the Society sponsored a state-wide essay contest open to seniors in both public and private high schools. Jane Silverman acted as chairman of the essay contest, which attracted not only the largest number of entries to date, but also entries of high quality. It is felt this contest is a good means of encouraging an interest among young people in Hawaiian history and should be continued.

### **General Remarks**

During the year your Trustees have spent considerable time discussing the future of the Hawaiian Historical Society and what direction it should be taking in this age of rapid change. During 1965 the Trustees will continue to explore what functions the Society can best perform for both members and the community and these views will then be presented to the membership.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion I wish to express my thanks to the many persons who have contributed their time and energy. Sophie Cluff, of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, was most helpful to us during the month-long period when we had no regular staff member. To Agnes Conrad, whose term as Trustee expired at the end of the year, I express my thanks for her willing advice and help. To all others who were of assistance, especially the members of the Board of Trustees, I express my appreciation for your council and support.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWARD JOESTING  
*President*

# HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FINANCIAL REPORT

## INCOME FOR 1964:

Membership dues received .....	\$ 2,998.00	
Life members (to Capital Funds) .....	400.00	
		\$ 3,398.00

## Contributions

Annie H. Parke Estate .....	\$ 538.75	
Royalties .....	61.20	
Wilcox Trust .....	500.00	
Castle Foundation .....	500.00	
Hawaiian Telephone Company .....	450.00	
Miscellaneous .....	35.00	
		\$ 2,084.95

## Dividends

Pacific Gas & Electric Co. ....	\$ 75.00	
Southern California Edison .....	66.16	
Hawaii Corporation .....	63.74	
United Gas Co. ....	50.00	

## Interest

First Federal Savings & Loan Co. ....	75.00	
Pioneer Savings & Loan .....	181.87	
Island Federal .....	181.87	
		\$ 1,147.55

Sale of Books & Publications .....	\$ 723.30	
		\$ 7,343.80

## EXPENSES FOR 1964:

Printing Annual Report .....	\$ 1,095.64	
Library & Office expense .....	160.00	
Essay Contest .....	125.00	
Membership meetings .....	150.00	
Salaries & Payroll taxes .....	3,724.56	
Building maintenance .....	360.00	
Auditing & Accounting .....	225.00	
Telephone .....	153.84	
Dues & Subscriptions .....	34.50	
Unclassified expense .....	289.94	
		\$ 6,218.48

Cooke Trust Account 12/31/64	\$ 1,160.84
Savings & Loan Accounts	<u>\$19,872.37</u>

## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

I would like to bring to your attention some of the more unusual letters and requests which come to the office regularly.

While my job specification describes me as a "librarian," the Society does not have the income to be able to hire a graduate librarian. Actually each day's requirements are really clerical and secretarial with little time left to do the many projects needed to keep the library up to standard.

We get many requests from school children for "ALL the information you can send me about Hawaii!" Most of them specify *free information*, and a good many of these scholars (?) also say, "my term paper is due next week, please hurry!"

Although Hawaii has now been the 50th State for over 5 years, just recently one woman wrote "please use *your own postage* in replying to this because my grandson is collecting stamps."

Then there are the arm-chair authors who begin, "I am writing a book—please tell me all about . . ." One man from an address near the Pentagon asked me to give him measurements, and draw diagrams for him, of all the military fields on Oahu. (I believe he was writing about World War II.) Needless to say time does not permit doing research on any but the most simple requests. We do try to help local people who come to the library, and we try to answer questions for government departments who write or phone in requests. These are usually for dates which are comparatively easy to find. The work is diverse and extremely interesting.

As of December 31, 1964 the Society had a total paid membership of 585. Our members are geographically located on every island of Hawaii, in many states, and in seven foreign countries.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

As of December 31, 1964

### HONORARY

Handy, Mrs. Willowdean C.

### COMPLIMENTARY

Dutton, Mrs. Meiric K., Youngstown, N. Y.  
University of Hawaii Press

### LIFE

Akaka, Rev. Abraham K.  
Albrecht, Ernest W.  
Allen, Riley H.  
Allerton, John Gregg,  
    Koloa, Kauai  
Anderson, R. Alexander  
Anthony, J. Garner  
Ashford, Marguerite K.

Baker, Ray Jerome  
Blaisdell, Hon. Neal S.  
Brown, Francis H. I.  
Brown, Zadoc White  
Bunnell, James S.  
    Laguna Beach, Calif.  
Burns, Mrs. Fritz B.,  
    Los Angeles, Calif.  
Buscher, Henry W.

Cadagan, C. C.  
Cades, J. Russell  
Cades, Milton  
Cannon, George Q.  
Carter, George R.,  
    Kula, Maui  
Carter, Mrs. George R.,  
    Kula, Maui  
Castle, Alfred L.  
Castle, Harold K. L.  
Castro, Alexander H. F.  
Ching, Hung Wai  
Ching, Hung Wo  
Ching, Robert C.  
Coney, A. J.  
Cooke, Mrs. C. Montague, Jr.

Cooke, Mrs. George P.  
Cooke, Harrison R.  
Cooke, Robert M.  
Cooke, Samuel Alexander  
Cooke, Theodore A.  
Cooke, Mrs. Theodore A.  
Cox, Joel B.  
    Hanalei, Kauai  
Crosby, Rev. Thomas L.  
Crossley, Randolph

Damon, Miss Ethel M.,  
    Lihue, Kauai  
Davis, Alan S.  
Denison, Harry L.  
Denman, Gilbert M., Jr.,  
    San Antonio, Texas  
Derby, Mrs. S. A.  
Dickinson, L. Porter  
Doo, James K. C.  
Dorman, Dan E.

Earle, J. C.  
Eichelberger, Harold C.  
Ewing, William H.

Fagan, Mrs. Paul I.  
    Hillsborough, Calif.

Galt, Carter  
Gilbert, Mrs. Vivien K.  
Goss, Mrs. John  
    Killara, Australia  
Guard, Richard F.

Halbedl, Miss Renee  
Hanrahan, John C.  
Hanson, Carl E.  
Hecht, Frank A.  
Hitch, Thomas K.  
Ho, Chinn  
Holloway, Cy C.  
Hooley, Leigh  
Hoyt, Simes T.  
Hoyt, Mrs. Simes T.  
Hughes, J. Harold

Judd, Miss Bernice  
Judd, Walter F.

Kahananui, Mrs. Dorothy M.  
Kellerman, George H.  
Kimball, George P.  
Woodside, Calif.

Kimball, Richard K.  
Klammer, Miss Florence  
Klebahn, F. W., Jr.  
Klebahn, Mrs. F. W., Jr.  
Knapp, George C.

Lewis, Dudley C.  
Lind, Mrs. Helen Y.  
Love, Miss Winona  
Luahine, Miss Iolani  
Luke, K. J.

MacArthur, D. M.  
MacComiskey, L. N.  
MacNaughton, Boyd  
MacNaughton, Malcolm  
Magoon, J. H., Jr.  
Marcus, Aaron G.  
McKenzie, Mrs. Fanny Hoogs  
Beverly Hills, Calif.

Midkiff, Frank E.  
Midkiff, Robert R.  
Mitchell, Donald D.

Molyneux, Mrs. Jane K.  
San Francisco, Calif.

Morgan, Mrs. Susanne E.  
Murphy, George W.

Obermer, Mrs. Seymour  
O'Neill, Edward A.

Pattiz, Oscar S.,  
Beverly Hills, Calif.  
Peterson, Charles E.,  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
Plews, Mrs. Edith Rice  
Plews, John H. R.  
Pratt, C. Dudley  
Pratt, J. Scott B., III  
Pukui, Mrs. Mary K.

Quinn, William F.

Rice, Richard H.  
Roehrig, Kenneth W.

Schelderup, Gunnar  
Schubert, Anthony,  
Saudi Arabia  
Schuman, Mrs. G. W.  
Sharp, Eliot H.,  
Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Sinclair, Gregg M.  
Smith, C. Hutton  
Soga, Shigeo  
Spaulding, Philip E.  
Spaulding, Col. Thomas M.,  
Washington, D. C.  
Starr, W. Russell  
Straub, Dr. George F.  
Swadley, Mrs. Frank L.

Tabor, James H.  
Theaker, Morley L.  
Towill, R. M.  
Towill, Mrs. R. M.

Van Dyke, Robert E.  
Von Holt, Herman V.  
Von Holt, Mrs. Herman V.

Waterhouse, John T.  
Waterhouse, R. S.  
Watkins, R. Allen  
Weidig, Harold D.



Wheeler, Richard H.  
White, Mrs. Robert E.  
Wiig, Jon  
Wilcox, Gaylord P.,  
Puhī, Kauai  
Wilcox, Miss Mabel I.,  
Lihue, Kauai  
Wo, Robert Ching

Wrenn, Heaton L.  
Wrenn, Mrs. Heaton L.  
  
Yamane, Uichi  
Young Alfred C.,  
Los Angeles, Calif.  
  
Zuberano, Henry A.

### CORPORATE

Magoon Bros., Ltd.

Magoon Estate, Ltd.

### SUSTAINING

Baldwin, Mr. & Mrs. Richard H.,  
Makawao, Maui

Keller, Mr. & Mrs. Ira C.,  
Spreckelsville, Maui

Greenwell, Mrs. Arthur L.

Mitchell, Mr. & Mrs. Robert A.

Harris, Mrs. Violet A.,  
Kula, Maui

Noble, Chester L.,  
Los Angeles, Calif.

Hawn, A. L.,  
Eugene, Oregon

Oliver, Mrs. Florence J.,  
Eugene, Oregon

Huff, Robert,  
Los Angeles, Calif.

Schutte, C. Frederick  
Schutte, Mrs. Kathleen M.

### CONTRIBUTING

Adler, Jacob  
Adler, Mrs. Jacob  
Ah San, Mrs. Ida Pearl,  
Laupahoehoe, Hawaii  
Aitken, Robert  
Altman, Jack  
Awai, George E. K.

Cadagan, Mrs. C. C.  
Caldwell, Mrs. Henry B.  
Carswell, Archibald A.  
Clark, Henry B., Jr.  
Collins, George M.  
Conrad, Miss Agnes C.  
Cooke, Mrs. J. Platt

Baldwin, Mrs. Harry A.,  
Hailimaile, Maui

Ellis, Thomas E.  
Engelcke, The Rev. John P.

Bell, Miss Janet  
Biven, Mrs. Ethel H.  
Brewer, Mrs. Lela R.  
Brown, George Ii  
Bruce, Dr. Frank J.  
Budge, Alexander G.  
Buscher, Miss Grace

First Federal Savings & Loan  
Fortress, Leo  
Fricke, Mrs. Maud  
  
Gilliland, Norman R.  
Greene, Ernest W.,  
Washington, D. C.

Grider, F. K.  
Gros, Frederick C.

Halleran, Michael,  
San Mateo, Calif.  
Handy, Dr. E. S. C.  
Harden, Bruce P.  
Harden, Mrs. Bruce P.,  
Hilo, Hawaii  
Henshaw, M. B.  
Hunter, Dr. Charles H.

Johnson, Edward W.,  
Pago Pago, Samoa

Kawananakoa, Edward K.  
Kent, Harold W.  
King, Garfield

Lucas, Mrs. Clorinda L.

MacIntyre, Mrs. Malcolm  
Magoon, Eaton H.  
Magoon, Mrs. Eaton H.  
Matsui, Totaro

Mitchell, Mrs. Donald D.  
Moo, Jen Fui

Morse, Miss Marion  
Mundon, Mrs. George E.,  
Waimea, Kauai  
Murdoch, Miss Clare

Pickarski, Stanley  
Price, Louis P.

Radway, John A., Jr.  
Reppun, Dr. J. I. F.  
Rice, Judge Philip L.  
Richards, Atherton  
Rohr, Henry C.,  
Los Angeles, Calif.

Scott, Mrs. Elizabeth C.  
Sexton, Mrs. Harold M.  
Shearer, Hugh  
Shipman, Herbert C.,  
Hilo, Hawaii  
Smith, Arthur G.  
Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth L.  
Smith, Raymond P.  
Steiner, Harry  
Sterling, Mrs. Elspeth P.  
Stone, Lloyd

Tavares, Judge Nils  
Todd, Miss Margaret  
Twigg-Smith, Thurston

Vogel, Miss Eleanor  
Von Hamm, C. C.

West, Miss Sue  
Wilson, Mrs. Clarence H.  
Wolbrink, Donald H.  
Wyzanski, Henry N.

## REGULAR

Ahrens, Miss Wilhelmina I.  
Ahuna, Joe  
Akerman, Mrs. A. T.  
Alexander, John F.  
Alexander, William P.  
Allen, Miss Gwenfread  
Anderson, Bruce,  
Houston, Texas  
Anderson, Paul H.  
Angus, Miss Jean Kent  
Armitage, George T.  
Arnemann, George F.

Arnold, Dr. Harry L., Jr.  
Ashford, Clinton R.  
Atherton, Alexander S.

Babcock, Mrs. J. D.  
Bachman, Ross W.  
Bacon, George E.  
Bacon, Mrs. George E.  
Bailey, Mrs. Alice Cooper,  
Weston, Mass.  
Baker, Everett,  
Shannavon, Canada

Bannick, Miss Nancy M.  
 Barnes, Mrs. Richard  
 Barrere, Mrs. Waldron  
 Barrett, Gwynn W.  
 Berens, Todd I.,  
     Santa Ana, Calif.  
 Bickerton, Mrs. Agnes C.  
 Billson, Marcus K.  
 Bingham, Woodbridge,  
     Berkeley, Calif.  
 Bishop, Miss Brenda  
 Black, Mrs. Margaret Cobey  
 Blair, Mrs. Marion  
 Blaisdell, Richard K.  
 Bowers, Mrs. Laura P.  
 Bowman, Mrs. Donald S., Jr.  
 Bown, Miss Helen May  
 Brash, Mrs. Calvin  
 Brilliande, Robert  
 Brilliande, Mrs. Robert  
 Brown, Mrs. James D.  
 Bryan, Edwin H., Jr.  
 Buscher, Mrs. Henry W.  
 Bush, George W.,  
     Alexandria, Virginia  
 Bushnell, Dr. Oswald  
 Calley, Mrs. C. D.  
 Cammack, Floyd M.,  
     Rochester, Michigan  
 Carney, Mrs. J. J.  
 Carr, Mrs. Elizabeth B.  
 Carson, Mrs. Lorraine T.  
 Carter, A. Hartwell  
 Carter, Mrs. Reginald H.  
 Chaffee, Mrs. W. N.  
 Charlot, Mr. Jean  
 Child, W. Dudley, Jr.  
 Childs, Clinton L.  
 Chun, Lawrence P.  
 Chung-Hoon, Gordon R.  
 Cloward, Dr. R. B.  
 Cluff, Mrs. E. Curtis, Jr.  
 Cooke, Mrs. Harrison R.  
 Cooke, Richard A., Jr.  
 Corbett, Mrs. Gerald R.  
 Cox, J. Halley  
 Cox, Richard H.  
 Crawford, Miss Carolyn  
 Crellin, Curtis V.  
 Crellin, Mrs. Curtis V.  
 Cushing, Robert L.  
 Dabagh, Mrs. T. D.  
 Damon, Cyril Frank, Jr.  
 Damon, Henry E.  
 Davis, Carl D.  
 Davis, Mrs. Carl D.  
 Daws, Alan Gavan  
 Day, Miss Josephine E.  
 Day, Miss Vera M.  
 Derby, S. A.  
 Desha, David L.  
 Devereux, Mrs. Helen D.  
 Dillingham, H. G., Jr.  
 Doty, Col. Edouard R. L.  
 Dunkhase, Mrs. Carl  
 Dyer, Mrs. Doris M.  
 Ecke, Dr. Gustav  
 Edgecomb, Mrs. F. A.  
 Edwards, Webley  
 Elbert, Samuel H.  
 Emory, Dr. Kenneth P.  
 Erdman, Mrs. Harold R.  
 Erwin, Miss Ada B.  
 Evans, Col. Robert F.  
 Eyre, Dean A., Jr.  
 Farrar, Mrs. R. J. H.,  
     Kamuela, Hawaii  
 Fennell, Miss Dolla  
 Ferris, Miss Peggy  
 Feuerring, Jacob  
 Finney, Dr. Joseph C.,  
     Lexington, Kentucky  
 Fisher, Mrs. Clara S.  
 Fisher, Mrs. Gerald W.  
 Fitzpatrick, Mrs. Floyd W.  
 Force, Dr. Roland W.  
 Frazer, Miss Juliette M.  
 Frazer, Miss Mabel  
 Frederick, Dr. Pauline  
 Freeth, Douglas M.  
 Freeth, Mrs. Douglas M.

Freitas, Mrs. Annette  
Frost, Mrs. Rossie Moodie  
Frowe, Mrs. Chester E.  
Fukunaga, George J.  
Fullard-Leo, Mrs. E. B.

Gamble, Mrs. Lester H.  
Gast, Ross H.,  
    Los Angeles, Calif.  
George, Dr. Dorothy  
Gibson, Mrs. Frank D.  
Gibson, Miss Ynez  
Gignoux, Miss Alexis J.  
Gillett, Mrs. Dorothy K.  
Gleim, Miss Frances  
Goodwin, Richard T.  
Goss, Mrs. George E.  
Goto, Dr. Y. Baron  
Goto, Mrs. Y. Baron  
Greer, Richard Allen  
Greenwell, Mrs. Patricia G.  
Greig, James F.  
Griggs, Mrs. Clyde  
Guard, Mrs. J. B.

HSPA Experiment Station  
Hague, J. D.,

    Washington, D. C.  
Hall, Miss Charlotte V.  
Halperin, Dr. Sidney L.  
Halsted, Mrs. Clarissa H.  
Hamilton, Dr. Thomas H.  
Hansen, Miss Dagny,

    Northport, New York  
Hardeck, Miss Kitty  
Hart, Stuart K.  
Hefty, Mrs. M. R.  
Henderson, Mrs. Arthur T.  
Henderson, Mrs. C. J.  
Herman, F. B.  
Higashino, Shigeru  
Hinkley, Mrs. Vern  
The Historical Society  
    Volcano, Hawaii  
Hixson, Mrs. Murray  
Holden, Miss Margaret E.  
Holt, John D.

Holt, Mrs. John D.  
Holt, Mrs. Lucy  
Honda, Dr. Howard H.  
Honda, Ralph C.  
Hormann, Miss Irmgard  
Horwitz, Mrs. Louise  
Hoskins, Miss Charlotte M.  
Humme, Charles W.  
Humme, Mrs. John T.  
Hungerford, John B.  
Huntington Library  
    Los Angeles, California  
Hustace, Mrs. Edward C.

Ihara, Mrs. Violet K.  
Inouye, Senator Daniel K.,  
    Washington, D. C.  
Iolani School Library

Jabulka, Mrs. Jan  
Jackson, Archie C.  
Jackson, Mrs. Archie C.  
Jackson, Miss Frances,  
    San Francisco, California  
Jackson, Mrs. Mabel  
Jenkins, Elmer C.  
Jenks, Mrs. Livingston  
Joesting, Edward H.  
Johnson, Dr. Donald D.  
Johnson, Mrs. Cecily F.  
Judd, Dr. Charles S., Jr.  
Judd, J. Robert, Jr.  
Judd, Lawrence M.

Kahn, Paul Markham  
Kai, Mrs. Ernest K.  
Kaiharu, Mr. Yasuto  
Kamehameha School for Boys  
Kamehameha School for Girls  
Kamehameha School Prep. Dept.  
Kapoo, Rev. Edward Keahi  
Kartes, Miss Louise M.  
Kauai Historical Society  
    Lihue, Kauai  
Kay, Dr. E. Alison  
Kelly, Mrs. Marion  
Kerr, Miss Marian J.

Kikuchi, William K.  
King, Davis M. K.  
King, Mrs. Garfield  
King, Mrs. Grace W.  
King, Samuel P.  
Knowlton, Edgar C., Jr.  
Koch, Mrs. F. W.  
Korn, Alfons L.  
Krauss, Noel L. H.  
Kreiger, Robert  
Kuck, Miss Loraine E.

Larsen, Mrs. Nils P.  
Leavey, Maj. Gen. E. H.  
Leavey, Mrs. Edmond H.  
Leebrick, Dr. K. C.  
Lewis, Mrs. A., Jr.  
Lewis, Miss Rhoda V.  
Lincoln, Mrs. William Ames  
Lloyd, Mrs. Robert H.  
Loomis, Miss Albertine  
L'Orange, Mrs. Hans  
Lowrey, Mrs. Fred P.  
Lowrey, Dr. John J.  
Lowrey, Mrs. John J.  
Lyons, Mrs. R. R.,  
    Makawao, Maui  
Lytle, Hugh W.

Macdonald, Miss Susan  
Maclean, Rev. Burton A.  
Mahler, Mrs. Malcolm G.  
Mahoe, Mrs. Noelani  
Manchester, Curtis A., Jr.  
Marnie, Mrs. Jack  
Marshall, Mrs. Donald  
Marumoto, Judge Masaji  
Maui Historical Society  
    Wailuku, Maui  
Maxwell, Philip  
May, Gordon S.  
McAlister, Mrs. Dorothy C.  
McClellan, Edwin North,  
    Secane, Penn.  
McClellan, Mrs. Esther Waihee  
McClellan, Mrs. Emma K.

McColl, Mrs. Alys  
    Kihei, Maui  
McDermott, Mrs. Marion  
McCoy, Floyd W.  
McDole, Mrs. Katherine  
McGuire, Thomas R. L.  
McKelway, Mrs. Estelle  
McMahon, Miss Lucille  
McNeilly, Mrs. Mildred M.  
Meinecke, Fred K.,  
    Urbana, Illinois  
Meller, Prof. Norman  
Miller, Miss Carey D.  
Milne, Robert S.,  
    Yonkers, New York  
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Mist, H. Wentworth  
Moon, Mr. Wook  
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Mulholland, Rev. John F.

Nary, Mrs. Blossom  
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Otomo, Miss Aiko

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Paoa, Robert Clarke  
Pendleton, Dr. Edwin C.  
Perkins, Alice Roach  
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Petrovski, Mrs. Isabel M.  
Pietsch, Charles J.  
Pietsch, David T.  
Place, Richard C.  
Plews, John C.  
Podmore, Mrs. Geoffrey  
Poole, Mrs. Alice F.  
Poole, Mrs. Charles F.

Pope, Horace M.  
Porteus, Dr. Stanley D.  
Potter, Dr. Norris W.  
Prendergast, Miss Eleanor K.  
Provincial Archives,  
Victoria, B.C., Canada  
Punahou School, Cooke Library

Rainwater, H. Ivan  
Bowie, Maryland  
Rea, Lt. Charles Pedric  
Reist, Miss Birdie  
Rice, Mrs. A. H., Jr.  
Rodiek, Miss Anita  
Ruddle, Mrs. Annabelle L.  
Hilo, Hawaii

Sakamaki, Dr. Shunzo  
San Francisco Public Library  
San Francisco, Calif.  
Saul, Mrs. Harriet Wery  
Scarborough, Miss Jean  
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Schmitt, Robert C.  
Schoen, Miss Evelyn H.  
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Schutz, Albert J.  
Shingle, Seymour  
Silverman, Jane  
Simpson, Mrs. Frank F.  
Sinclair, Gregg M.  
Sinclair, Miss Miriam  
Singlehurst, Robert  
Singlehurst, T. G.  
Slack, Kenneth T.  
Sloan, Dr. Norman R.  
Smith, Barbara B.  
Smith, Emerson C.  
Smith, Gordon  
Smith, James W.  
Smith, James W., Jr.,  
Lanai City, Lanai  
Smith, Miss Margaret  
Smith, Mrs. Ronald Q.  
Snow, Miss Isabelle  
Soehren, Lloyd J.

Sommerfeld, Mrs. Frank R.  
Sousa, Miss Esther F.  
Sparks, Robert W.  
Spoehr, Dr. Alexander,  
Pittsburgh, Penn.  
Stevens, William A.  
Stone, Dr. Benjamin C.  
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia  
Struve, Mrs. Virginia H.  
Sultan, Mrs. Edward D.  
Summers, Mrs. Richard L.

Tabrah, Mrs. Frank L.,  
Kohala, Hawaii  
Taylor, Huntington  
Taylor, Stanley S.  
Terry, Seymour  
Tharp, George V.  
Thoene, Mrs. William A., Sr.  
Thurston, Lorrin P.  
Titcomb, Miss Margaret  
Tracy, Clifton H.  
Tracy, Mrs. Clifton, H.  
Trim, Mrs. Anne  
Troyer, Mrs. F. Gregory

University of California Library  
Berkeley, Calif.

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Waterhouse, N. Warren  
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Watson, Mrs. Edward Boditch,  
Milton, Mass.  
Wessel, Vincent G.  
White, George E., Jr.  
Wiig, Mrs. Jon  
Williams, Mrs. Felton K.  
Williams, Mrs. Edith B.  
Williams, Robert T., Sr.,  
Williamson, Elmer W., Jr.  
Wilson, Willard

Windley, Larry  
Winne, Miss Jane L.  
Winston, Miss Vivian  
Wirtz, Mrs. Virginia  
Wong, Kaupena  
Wong, William T. S.  
Woodyard, Miss Sara T.

Wright, Miss Adeline  
Wright, John Cotton  
  
Yeager, Mrs. Kathy Martin  
Yardley, Paul T.  
York, Mrs. John  
Yuen, Mr. Frank Kekino

#### DECEASED

Aaron, Col. Thomas R.  
Allerton, Robert  
Brooks, Miss Dorothy  
Dillingham, Mrs. Walter F.  
Goldsmith, Joel S.  
Jaggar, Mrs. Thomas A.

Kellett, Richard W.  
Larsen, Dr. Nils P.  
Lutz, Dr. Edmond A.  
Moranz, Vincent J.  
Steadman, A. E.  
Stephenson, William B.

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Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii  
Commonwealth National Library, Canberra, Australia  
Hawaiian Evangelical Association, Honolulu, Hawaii  
Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu, Hawaii  
Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu, Hawaii  
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.  
Library of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii  
Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Oregon  
Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, Washington  
Public Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii  
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